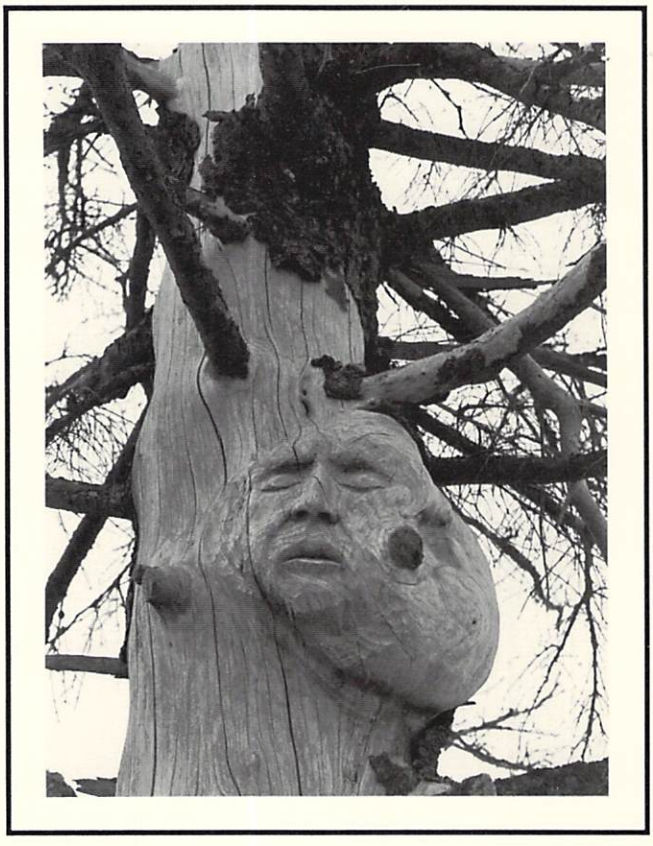
UAA Student Showcase Journal
Recognizing Excellence

Vol. 4 No. 1 Spring, 1989



University of Alaska Anchorage
Anchorage, Alaska

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE 1988 SHOWCASE AND 1989 JOURNAL PRODUCTION CONTRIBUTORS

Student Association - University of Alaska Anchorage (SAUAA)

UAA Student Economics Club

UAA Student Education Club

UAA Student Sociological Association

Office of UAA Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs,
Drs. Donald Behrend and William J. Keppler, Vice Chancellors, 1987-1988

College of Arts and Sciences, Dr. Stan Johnson, Dean

Carrs

UAA Faculty, Staff and Students who contributed time and efforts to making the 1988 Showcase and the 1989 Journal a success.

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

The UAA student journal will be published annually. It will consist of a number of top-ranked research articles and creative works selected from papers presented at the annual *UAA Student Showcase* held in the spring of the year prior to journal publication. An attempt will be made, if possible, to include a wide campus representation, as well as papers that will be of value to the community and the state. This is the fourth published journal.

Copies of the journal are available for $5.00 from the UAA Student Showcase Journal Editor, Department of Sociology, UAA, 3211 Providence Dr., Anchorage, AK, 99508. For further information call (907) 786-1817 or 786-1714.

UAA Student Showcase Journal
Recognizing Excellence

Vol. 4 No. 1 Spring, 1989

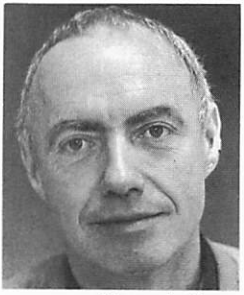
University of Alaska Anchorage
Anchorage, Alaska

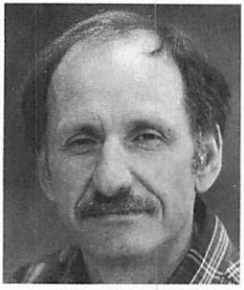
JOURNAL EDITORS
UAA FACULTY AND STAFF*

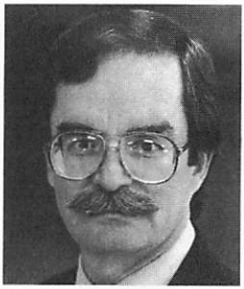
Dr. Sharon K. Araji, Managing Editor-Sociology
Dr. Joyce Honeychurch, Assistant Editor-Education
Dr. George Belden-Music
JoAnne Carson-Director of Student Development
Kenneth Gray-Art
Dr. Will Jacobs-History
Dr. Chris Kleinke-Psychology
Dr. Eileen Lally-Social Work
Dr. Thomas Moorehouse-Public Affairs
Tom Sexton-English
Dr. Donna Gail Shaw- Education
Dr. William Workman-Anthropology

Journal Layout-Susan J. Pearson, Journalism and Public Communications major. Ms. Pearson was assisted by Ken and Stephanie Droddy, Michael Hausler and J. D. Galleck.
Cover Photography-Richard Marson, Art major and Walt Johnson.
Photographs Accompanying Text- Gene Jansen, UAA Journalism and Public Communications.
Portrait Photographs of Editors and Student Contributors - Tom Alvarez, UAA Photography Department.
*Editors not shown were unavailable at the time of the photo session.


Dr. Sharon K. Araji


Kenneth Gray


Dr. Chris Kleinke


Dr. Thomas Moorehouse

UAA Student Showcase Journal
Recognizing Excellence

Vol. 4 No. 1 Spring, 1989

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Mary Bustamante (Tog the Twelve-tone Frog for Tamara) is a senior at UAA pursuing a degree in Music Education, K-12. She has been studying composition with Dr. George Beldon for three years. She is a member of the Student Composer's Club at UAA, has been the Assistant Director of the Anchorage Community Chorus from fall of 1987 to fall of 1988, conducting their summer concerts. Mary plans to become a music teacher.

Sally Carricaburu (Grandma's Bed) graduated with an MFA in English in December, 1988. She is currently teaching English courses at UAA and is also Director of Education at Meadow Creek Correctional Center for Women at Eagle River. She has two children and enjoys canoeing and cross country skiing.

Richard Chiappone (Barkoons) is a full-time undergraduate student majoring in English with an emphasis on creative writing. He has been honored three times by the UAA/Anchorage Daily News Creative Writing Contest. He contributes articles regularly to Alaska Outdoors magazine, and has had material accepted for publication in Gray's Sporting Journal, and Fly Fishing Heritage magazines.

Stephanie Cole (A Fable: Sarah and the Swan) received a Bachelor of Arts degree from UCLA in 1971 and a J.D. degree in 1975. She is currently a Master of Fine Arts candidate at UAA and is the Deputy Director for the Alaska Court System. This is the second time an article by Stephanie has appeared in the Showcase Journal.

Art Davidson (The Role of Annandale in the Life and Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson) is a writer and mountaineer. He authored Minus 48, The First Winter Ascent of Mt. McKinley and Alaska: The Great Land, a format book to be published by Sierra Club Books this year. He lives in the mountains near Anchorage.

Diane Disanto (Mandatory Work Requirements: Do They Work?) graduated with honors in Social Work and is presently employed as a clinician by South Central Counseling. She works with the homeless and mentally ill. She is on the Board of the Alaska Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers and serves as Legislative Chairman. Diane is interested in social issues and legislation affecting the mentally ill as well as welfare reform. Her paper was inspired by Pudge Kleinkauf.

Hollis French (Get Up, Get Down) is working toward an English Degree. He has spent the last nine years in the Alaska oilfields. According to Hollis, "You don't need a degree to get into this job, but you need one to get out."

Lynda Lu Hall (Teaching Children About Sexual Abuse Through Ventriloquism: A Personal Safety Unit for K-1) graduated from Pacific Union College in Angwin, California, in 1971 with a B.S. degree in Physical Education. After teaching for four

years in California and Washington, she moved to Alaska and taught Elementary School for three years. In 1983 she began attending UAA seeking a double major, Nursing Science and Elementary Education. Lynda Lu plans to pursue a M.S. in Nursing Science following her graduation from UAA in 1989. Lynda Lu has been a ventriloquist since 1969.

Kaye Knight (The Office of Public Advocacy CASA Program) is a senior Social Work major. She is currently employed as a VISTA volunteer at the Office of Public Advocacy. She is a member of the UAA Social Work Club and is also a volunteer at CRISIS INC. and serves on the board of the Alaska Women's Cultural Center. In 1986 and 1987 Kaye was a recipient of a Child Mental Health stipend. Her academic goal is to obtain a degree in social work at the graduate level.

Andrea McClelland (Navajo Dine—The People) lived and taught school on a Navajo reservation for five years. This experience has been extremely valuable in bringing real life experiences into the classroom in Anchorage. She will graduate from UAA in December, 1988 and enter the Master's and Certification Program for Special Education in January, 1989.

Andy Ruby (George F. Kennan and the Development of United States Containment Policy, 1945-1947) graduated in May of 1987 from UAA with a history degree. He has been fishing in Bristol Bay for salmon and working at public radio station KDLG as an announcer and producer. He enjoys early American history and Alaskan history. He plans to build a cabin on his 40-acre homestead and remain in the Dillingham area.

David Scott Tomaso (The Allied Strategic Bombing Offensive and the Attack on Dresden, 13/14 February, 1945) graduated from the University of Alaska Anchorage in May of 1988 with a Bachelor of Arts Degree in History. He is currently attending UAA to complete course requirements for an Elementary Teacher Certification. His permanent residence is in Soldotna, Alaska.

Richard VanderHoek (A Project Comparing the Holding Ability of Two Types of Atlatl Dart Points) is a senior majoring in Anthropology and minoring in History. He is also a journeyman electrician. In 1988 he was included on the UAA Deans List as well as the National Dean's List. In 1988 he started the UAA Anthropology Club. His academic interests include experimental archaeology, the evolution of technology, and northern and maritime hunting and gathering societies. He plans on teaching and doing research at the graduate level. He likes to ski, canoe, kayak, camp, bicycle, and enjoy life.

Robert Wallis (Effects of Remorse and Intentionality on Evaluation of a Rapist) is a graduate student in the UAA Psychology Department. He is pursuing a Masters Degree in the Counseling program and plans to complete his degree in December, 1989. Robert is currently a counselor intern in the Counseling and Growth Center. He is presently preparing data from a rape study for presentation at the 1989 Western Psychological Association Conference in Reno, Nevada.

Lisa West-Livers (Behind Closed Doors: American Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century) is a 1981 graduate of Williamette University in Oregon. As an employee of UAA, she enjoys the opportunity to take classes and plans to enter a graduate program next fall. Lisa is an ardent jogger.

Gary Williams (Myth and Symbol in Alaska's Political Culture: State Development Problems and Policies) is currently enrolled in the School of Economic and Public Policy at UAA. His interest in public policy issues in Alaska is lifelong, having its practical application in political offices held in Homer, Alaska from 1974-1978. He is the former producer of the television series Alaska Review which examined the broad spectrum of Alaskan Public Policy Issues. Today, Mr. Williams is president and CBO of Alaska Video Publishing, Inc. in Anchorage.

Noelle Williams (Second Nature) is pursuing a BFA degree at UAA. She received her first Bachelor's degree in physiology from the Univerisity of California, Davis. **Laurie Burner, Theresa Gibbs, Raymond Giblin, Joe Hamilton, Richard Marson, Jann Nunn, Dora Powell, and Pearline Turney** assisted with the project and their works are described in Williams' article. Marson's photo was selected for the cover of this journal. All are currently pursuing various art degrees at UAA or at out-of-state universities.

Richard Wisecarver (The American Indian and American Democracy) received a B.A. in 1987 from the University of New Mexico. He had a double major in Anthropology and History. He is currently working on a Masters of Art in Teaching Program (MAT) at UAA. This spring he will be student teaching in Wasilla. He hopes to remain in Alaska after he completes his MAT and teach high school in Wasilla or Anchorage.

ABOUT THE UAA STUDENT SHOWCASE

Searching for Excellence: Conference Objectives

Opportunites for intellectual and social exchanges are important functions of universities as they meet many of the developmental needs of students. Such opportunities also provide for the development of a feeling of "group cohesion" and a "sense of belonging" to a particular institution.

Established universities have well-developed structures designed to provide opportunities for intellectual and social exchanges. Universities with shorter histories, such as UAA, however, have few or no such structures to meet the above noted needs. While this problem is partly a function of the youthfulness of such universities, at UAA this has been further complicated, until recently, by the absence of organized on-campus housing. The campus is still, to a great extent, a "commuter" student population. Institutions with this type of population are characterized by few opportunities for campus-wide intellectual social exchanges and can produce feelings of alienation.

Lack of structural developments, however, should not prevent students from having opportunities for intellectual and social exchanges; such is the purpose of the annual UAA Student Showcase.

The potential objectives and/or outcomes of such conferences as the UAA student showcase are manyfold. First, it provides a vehicle for meeting intellectual and social needs of UAA students. Second, since the student conferences are designed similar to professional conferences, it exposes students to activities that are an important part of the academic lifestyle. Third, the campus-wide effort has the potential of developing closer ties among students, faculty, and administrators. Fourth, public presentations can serve as an incentive for students to exert more creativity and effort in preparing their papers than if they were merely fulfilling a course requirement and receiving a grade. Fifth, by involving community leaders and community members in the Showcase, a greater understanding can be gained of the relationship between UAA and the Anchorage community. Finally, as a culmination of showcase activities, outstanding works are published in the UAA Student Showcase Journal. This provides a sense of accomplishment, recognition, and pride for the students and the university. The articles printed in this journal represent selected works from the fourth annual student showcase.

Dr. Sharon K. Araji,
Showcase Founder and
Journal Editor

Grandma's Bed

Sally Carricaburu

She has eyes the color of molasses.
Thick, grey hair curls around her head
like a wreath. She will not speak with strangers.
Alone with me she coos in a twirling Basque tongue.
She lets me drink coffee with Pet milk and sugar.

Cold slides under splintered sills
and chills her small house.
At night, she lets me sleep
in the mountain that is her bed
where pillows bloom like clouds.

We undress in the corners of her room,
float together in flannel gowns,
kneel with folded hands along the quilts.
With silent moving lips, we seek
favor from a wounded god,
cross our breasts in unison
and rise into the bed.

Sally Carricaburu's poem was completed for English 662, "Studies in Writing Poetry," Thomas Sexton, Professor, UAA English Department.

Pretending Don't Make It So

Mary Ellen Havens

She was built like a pickle barrel, short and stout, and with just about as much shape. I never thought of her as fat, exactly; she was just sturdy, maybe bulky. Many farm women seemed to become that way as they grew older. My Grandma Berkheimer had seven younger sisters, my Great Aunts Cora, Florence, Rose, Sadie, Elsie, Mary and Harriet. Sometimes Mama would show me old family photographs taken at the big summer reunion picnics, and with all the sisters standing shoulder-to-shoulder, the faces and shapes were interchangeable. Since I was her only grandchild, the time I spent with her was ours alone. It comes back to me now, sometimes in vague bits and pieces of memory, and sometimes crystal clear, as though I were looking down through thick clean ice on a lake and could see the plants and detritus in sharp relief at the bottom. Everything changed that summer when I was seven. Perhaps that's why I remember it best of all.

There were blue cornflowers growing by her back gate, and pale pink old-fashioned roses, the kind that bloomed with tightly bunched petals and smelled almost overpoweringly sweet in the heat of a summer afternoon. When Mama and Daddy and I came to visit, I would run through the gate both in eagerness and fear, because the scent of roses drew huge bumblebees, hovering and humming on both sides of the walkway.

Those times when I was allowed to stay with Grandma, I took her plump, calloused hand and we followed Mama and Daddy back out to the gate to wave as they drove off in their old green Buick sedan. I hoped they wouldn't come back for me for a long time. Sometimes, I even wished that I could stay there and live with her.

I always thought of it as a farm even though there were no horses in the barn anymore. A real farm should have had horses. But Grandpa had died the year I was born, and there had been a big farm auction afterward to sell all the things Grandma wouldn't need and couldn't use any longer. Once I asked Mama about it. She said it was the only time she had seen her mother cry, when Hap Miller, the auctioneer, had stood on the old wagon bed and sold off all the harnesses, and field machinery, and Little Ben and Prince, the Clydesdale horses—all to the highest bidder. She hadn't even cried at Grandpa Berkheimer's funeral. I know she loved horses. Years later when I was a teenager, mama showed me an old photograph that had been taken before Grandma was even married. The heavy paper was cracked around the edges, brown and faded—the kind they call "sepia"—and Grandma was sitting, straight-backed and proud, on a horse on the sloping front lawn in front of the farmhouse porch. It was a slender, light riding horse, not one of their ponderous, heavy-footed workhorses, and Grandma was so slim and smiling that I didn't really believe it could be her. I guess it was like seeing pieces of her life cut away and snatched up by strangers, when they had the sale. Some of the machinery had belonged to her father, my Great-grandpa Beisecker, when he had lived there and worked the farm. Grandma, being the oldest daughter in a family of girls, had gotten the farm when her father died.

Mary Ellen Haven's paper was completed for English 362, "Fiction Workshop," Ron Spatz, Professor, UAA English Department.

After Grandpa died, she still kept a couple of pigs in the low shed next to the barn, and Dolly, her little orange and white Guernsey cow, still lived in the stable. I loved the cow, with her deep, watery brown eyes, and her long tongue that could reach right up and lick the snot off her glistening, rubbery nose. When we went out to milk after supper, Grandma carried the steel milk pail, and I carried a bucket of kitchen slop for the two red pigs. She squatted on a three-legged stool beside Dolly, resting her forehead against the cow's smooth hide, and said things like, "Whoa, boss," soft, murmuring, unintelligible sounds, while thin streams of milk foamed and hissed into the pail. After while it seemed like the whole stable smelled like fresh milk and a warm, steamy cow and hay. It was like the smell on a hot day when you've been running out in the grass fields in the sun. Once Grandma tried to teach me to milk, but I guess I squeezed the wrong way, and Dolly whipped her dungy tail around and slapped me with it. Grandma wiped my face with the corner of her faded work apron and said matter-of-factly, "Never mind, child, when you're older you'll be able to do it." Her sympathy and pity were doled out like Christmas candy, hidden carefully in a secret place until the right time, then lavished in abundance. She never wasted an ounce of either one.

When she was done milking, she would call the barn cats, and fill two old rusty cake pans with milk for them. Once I counted thirteen cats crowded around, mostly grey ones with white feet, or white patches on their faces, and a few tiger-striped kittens. They were all pretty wild, but Grandma let me pick one of the baby kittens for a house pet that spring when I was seven. I heard her sort of mutter to herself, "A child <u>needs</u> a pet." Mama wouldn't let me have dogs or cats at home; she didn't want them shedding hair in the house and digging in the flowerbeds.

When we got back from the barn she would take the pail of milk into the corner of the summer house, under the window where the separator stood. I never could figure out how she could pour the milk in the top, and the rich cream would come out one spigot, and the thin, bluish-white skim milk out the other one. I thought maybe it was magic and some fairies did it. Grandma said, no, it wasn't fairies. She didn't much believe in fairies and make-believe things. Whenever I started a story with "What if...?" or "Grandma, let's pretend..." she would listen til the end, then say, "That's nice, child, but remember, pretending don't make it so."

Just before the dusk turned to dark, she would light one of the kerosene lamps and set it in the middle of the oilcloth-covered summer house table. It burned with a soft amber flame, and made round, dim pools of light on the ceiling above the table. The circles of light had wavy edges, like the top of the lamp's glass globe. In the corners of the room, the shadows were grey and gentle, not harsh like the electric light shadows at home. Before bedtime on those summer evenings, we would go out and sit on the front porch steps under the pear tree, listening to the crickets and far-away sounds from the village down the road—dogs barking, and children yelling to each other. The night air was like a warm, sweet blanket, scented heavily with the honeysuckle that climbed and twined over the fence rails along the edge of the fields. Sometimes she told me stories about when she was little, and lived here in this same house with all her sisters. If she wasn't too tired, she sang to me. But often we just sat and watched the stars. Once I asked her why she lived there all alone. She just looked out at the cornfield for a few moments, then said, "I've always lived here; it's my home," as though there were no other possibility in the world.

I couldn't imagine living anywhere all alone. "Aren't you ever scared at night when you're her all alone, Grandma?" I had asked. "What if something scary came around at night?" The scariest things happened at night, I knew that. Grandma made a derisive sound, indicating her total disdain for anything that might come around her house uninvited, day or night, and said, "Why, I'd take Polly and the stove poker and I'd go out and fix their wagon, that's what I'd do!" The old collie sleeping at our feet thumped her tail when she heard her name. Somehow I felt pretty sure that there wasn't much Grandma couldn't take care of.

If I stayed over on a Sunday, Grandma and I got dressed early and waited for her neighbor to come and pick us up and drive us to church. I never saw her wear anything on Sundays but the same long-sleeved black dress, and her good hat. That hat looked like a round layer cake on a plate, except that it was made of shiny black straw, and there were two golden brown pheasant feathers stuck in the band. Sometimes she wore her silver filigree pin, and sometimes her ropes of jet-black beads. She told me that I could have them someday, when she didn't need them anymore, but not until I was older. Her black Sunday shoes were old-fashioned even those many years ago; they had laces that went all the way to her ankle, and thick, clunky heels. They must have hurt her feet even more than her everyday ones, because she walked in short, uneven steps, her heavy body moving along beside me as though she had one leg shorter than the other. As soon as we got home she took off her shoes and rubbed thick, smelly yellow ointment on her bunions; then she put on her cotton stockings and low house shoes. Sunday afternoons were the only times she sat with me during the day and didn't really work on anything, except to read me stories from the children's page of the newspaper, and sew a little. Sundays were special and quiet; work always waited, on Sundays.

One afternoon in August, when I was to spend a week at Grandma's, Mama came up to my room while I was packing my suitcase. She sat on the bed and didn't say anything for a few minutes, just watched me with a distracted look on her face, as though she wanted to say something but wasn't sure how to go about it. "Caroline," she said at last, "you won't be able to go to Grandma's this week. " I waited, wondering. Mama's eyes looked red and she cleared her throat before she continued. "Grandma's sick, honey. She had to go to the hospital this morning." Mama tried to explain that Grandma had had a stroke, and she would have to stay in the hospital until she was better. I didn't know what a stroke was. Mama just said that sometimes it happened to old people, and they couldn't move parts of their body very well. I couldn't relate it to Grandma; sometimes she couldn't move very well, I knew that. Her knees creaked when she bent them; she said it was the rheumatism, and sometimes she got it in her shoulders, too. But how this new illness, this "stroke," was different from her rheumatism, I couldn't figure out the only thing it meant was that I couldn't go and stay with her.

During the next couple of weeks, Mama and my Aunt Grace went to the hospital every evening when they let people go in to see the patients. I couldn't go in with them, because they didn't let anyone in unless they were over twelve years old. That didn't make any sense to me; I wanted to see Grandma, and I knew she would want to see me, too. Sometimes when we walked out to the parking lot to leave, Mama would show me exactly which window in the long, three-storied brick building was Grandma's room, and I would wave to her. She probably wasn't looking out the window, but it made me feel better.

On a drizzly day several weeks after Grandma had first gotten sick, Mama and Aunt Grace took me with them to Grandma's house. As soon as the car stopped, I jumped out and ran to the stable to see Dolly; I hoped that somebody had been taking good care of her while Grandma was gone. Mama called after me as I ran, but I couldn't hear what she was saying, and I didn't stop. I unlatched the stable door and opened it; it was empty. Even the manger and dirty straw on the floor were cleaned out. It was bare of any sign that it had recently been inhabited. Mama caught up to me just as I had turned around to come out. "Where's Dolly?" I demanded. "Where are Grandma's pigs?"

Mama sat down on the cedar stump that Grandma used as a chopping block when she cut stove kindling. She tried to take my hand and pull me over to her, but I yanked it away and leaned against the barn door, watching her. She folded her hands in the lap of her cotton skirt, holding her fingers tightly together. Rain was dripping off the overhang of the barn roof, splashing on the rounded stones of the walkway. The sound of it filled the silence while Mama looked at her clasped hands, and I looked at Mama. "Mr. Himes took Dolly home, Caroline. He'll take good care of her. He took the pigs, too."

I knew Mr. Himes. Grandma and I used to walk down the road to visit his wife sometimes, and she made even better soft ginger cookies than Grandma did. "Will he bring her back when Grandma comes home?" I asked.

Mama sighed, a quavery sound, then she answered. "Grandma had another stroke a couple days ago, Caroline. She has to go to a different place where they can take better care of people who are sick like she is. The hospital needs the beds for people they can help, people who will get well." She paused, and this time I let her take my hand. "Grandma probably won't be coming home again. But you'll be able to go and see her where she'll be living now."

I didn't really believe the part about Grandma not coming home again, but I was glad I could see her. Mama and I went into the house, where Aunt Grace was packing dishes from the china cupboard into a big cardboard box. They spent the rest of that day going through Grandma's things.

The next afternoon, Mama bought a potted red geranium at the florist's shop. The pot was wrapped in green foil paper, and there was a pink ribbon tied around it. Then we drove to the outskirts of town to the nursing home where they had taken Grandma. Mama turned into a shady driveway and parked beside a low stucco building painted white, with a sign on the front lawn that said "Pleasant Acres." We went up a long ramp that led to the front door, and into a waiting room full of chairs and magazines stacked on end tables. It looked like the dentist's waiting room, but it smelled different. A nurse, dressed in a starched white uniform and white shoes that squeaked when she walked, talked to Mama quietly, then led us down a long hall. The strange smell, like a mixture of disinfectant and staleness, was stronger here than in the waiting room. It didn't smell like anyone's home, or anywhere I'd ever been before; certainly not like a place where anyone would want to live. There were doors opening off the hallway, all along both sides, but I kept my eyes on the nurse's broad white back as it moved ahead of us. She finally entered a room at the end of the hall, and I saw Grandma for the first time since she had gotten sick.

At first I didn't recognize her at all. Mama set the geranium on a wooden dresser beside the bed and took her hand, then I knew it must be Grandma. I watched from the doorway while Mama talked softly to the person in the high, narrow bed. There were

sides on the bed, like the guard rails on a child's upper bunk. A crisp, white sheet was folded over at the top and tucked snugly around Grandma's bulk, just under her arms, which lay bare on top of the sheet. I looked at her arms, round and plump, with creepy skin in folds around the elbows. She had always worn long sleeves, even on the warmest summer days. I'd never seen her bare arms before, and I didn't think she would like to have them exposed for everyone to see. Once I had opened the bathroom door when Mama was in the tub; she always locked the door, but this time she'd forgotten, and I had burst in after running all the way home from the school playground. Mama was just standing up, reaching for a towel from the rack. When she saw me she grabbed the towel and clutched it in front of herself, a surprised look on her face, while she hissed at me to get out. I backed out, ashamed, but not exactly sure of what I had done. I felt as though we had walked in on Grandma the same way, only she couldn't do anything about it. She just lay there, staring vacantly at the ceiling, while Mama held her hand and talked about how heavy the traffic was on the way here, and how Aunt Grace would be coming later that afternoon.

Grandma's long grey hair was combed back and braided in a single braid, the way she always wore it to bed. On the side, high above her right ear, was a small pink bow. I remember staring at it, trying to imagine what it was doing there, a thing that a little girl would wear. The starched nurse was smiling and talking to Mama, then she turned, leaning one hand on the head of the bed and the other on her wide hip. "Well, Ellie," she said to Grandma, "here's your family to see you. Aren't you glad we got you ready for company?" I felt like an intruder again, embarrassed for Grandma. She hadn't moved since we came in, not even a finger; but at last her eyes showed some awareness, following the figure of the nurse as she left the room. I was sure I saw her eyes move.

Mama, still holding Grandma's hand, called softly to me without turning around. "Caroline, come over here beside the bed where she can see you." My feet felt like lead; I wanted them to take me out of this room, back to the car, and away from this place where the air smelled like poison and Grandma lay in a strange, high bed with the silly pink ribbon in her hair. Instead, I went slowly over to stand beside Mama. There was a plastic-seated chair by the bed, and she motioned for me to stand on that. It wasn't until I was standing on the chair, holding on to the steel side rail of the bed, that I noticed all the tubes. They were clear plastic, long and thin; several came snaking out from under the sheet, another was attached to a small needle taped to the back of Grandma's left hand. Then I looked at her face, sallow and tired against the crisp white pillow. There was another tube, fastened with a strip of adhesive tape across her nose, disappearing into her left nostril.

"Caroline, say 'hello' to Grandma," Mama chided me gently. I glanced at Mama, wondering how she could act as though everything was normal and right. Grandma's grey eyes, deep and clear as they had always been, slowly moved to look into my own eyes. There was a sadness in them, a look I had never seen there before. Maybe I did say something then; I don't remember. But I don't know how I could have. It seemed safe to watch Grandma's eyes, but even that made me uncomfortable, and that plastic tube taped to her nose kept creeping into my field of vision. Finally Mama kissed Grandma's cheek, and said, "You'll like it here, Mama. Caroline and I will come again tomorrow after lunch."

When we reached the front door, I ran down the ramp, feeling the wind on my face,

running until I reached the car. It had rained earlier in the day, leaving a dampness in the air, a clean, fresh, earthy scent that removed the last of that stale odor of the building from my nostrils.

On the way home, I asked Mama about the tube in Grandma's nose. "Grandma's paralyzed, Caroline. That means she can't move, most of her muscles don't work. That tube in her nose is so the nurses can feed her. She can't swallow anything...she can't eat like most people do anymore."

"Can't she eat anything, Mama?" I remembered the times Grandma and I shared a quart of chocolate ice cream, and the wonderful Sunday dinners she had made, usually one of her own plump chickens, roasted until the skin was golden brown and crackled when you bit into it. "What do they feed her through that tube?"

"Oh, I don't know exactly, Caroline...vitamins and things that are good for her, but all liquids. They go right to her stomach..." Mama's voice trailed off. Maybe she was thinking of all the things Grandma liked to eat—things that couldn't go through a little tube.

From then on, at least every other day Mama drove over to pick up Aunt Grace and then went to the nursing home to visit Grandma. For a while I always went along. She bought a different plant once or twice a month, sometimes an azalea or chrysanthemum, or a different colored geranium, and took it along to set on the dresser beside Grandma's bed.

The home always seemed quiet; not many of the old people had visitors when we were there. Mama and Aunt Grace each stood on an opposite side of the bed, holding Grandma's hands where they lay, unmoving, on top of the white sheets. I stood beside Mama, or at the foot end of the bed, listening to them talk, and trying not to let the sounds and smells of the room become part of my awareness. Some of the old people muttered quietly to themselves, and one woman, confined to her narrow bed, kept up a soft, low, continuous moaning. She never stopped while we were there; maybe she did it all day long, because no one seemed to pay any attention to it, or even notice, except me. Mama would tell Aunt Grace about her day teaching the fourth grade, and Aunt Grace would tell Mama about how many quarts of peaches she had canned yesterday, and sometimes one or the other would address a remark to Grandma, as though she were really part of the conversation. Sometimes they would even ask her a question, like, "Aren't these blossoms a pretty shade of pink, Mama?" while holding the newly purchased geranium up where she could see it easily. But Grandma couldn't say, "Yes, they surely are," or even nod her head. All she could do was lay there, moving nothing except her eyes. Once when Mama spoke to her, Grandma groaned, a loud, excruciating sound of effort and agony. Mama took her hand and squeezed it, pressing her lips to the dry, cracked skin on the back. I looked at Grandma's face and saw tears running slowly down the etched lines around the corners of her eyes, her deep grey eyes that still had that sad, unfamiliar look in them.

The smell in the building, so strange at first, had become familiar, and I knew what it was. It was sickness, and old age, and death, and no hope, in a place that was nothing like anyone's home. I didn't want to go along with Mama much after that, except for once in a while on holidays. Grandma never got worse, and she never got better; she just lay in that same narrow, high, white-sheeted bed month after month, and year after year.

I never told Mama, but I knew that someday Grandma would get better again. I

wanted it so badly that I knew if I felt it hard enough, it would happen. One day the tall, dark-haired nurse in the squeaky shoes would call on the telephone, and in her cheerful, good-news voice she would say excitedly, "Please come immediately and pick up Ellie. She's sitting here in her Sunday dress and good hat, waiting to go home." The doctors wouldn't know exactly what had happened to make her better, but that's the way it would be. Mama and I would go and pick her up, and she would smile and exclaim, "Goodness, Caroline, how you have grown!"; she would smell like violets, her Sunday smell, not like sickness and medicine. Sometimes when I wished, and imagined how it would be, a voice very like Grandma's spoke from somewhere, gently reminding me, "Pretending don't make it so, child." But this wasn't really pretending. It was more like a miracle, and I knew miracles happened. We read about them in Sunday school, even Grandma had believed what we heard at Church and Sunday school.

Each Christmas, and Easter, and Mother's Day—and, of course, on Grandma's birthday—I went with Mama when she took a special plant, along with a pretty greeting card, to set on the dresser by Grandma's high bed. There was never any change, that I could see, in how she looked, but that wasn't important. I knew that miracles could happen suddenly; in fact, they almost always happened that way. And Grandma never got worse. I thought she was probably waiting for the miracle, too.

One June morning, six years after Grandma had first gotten sick, I was picking over strawberries, so Mama could make jam later in the day. The phone rang, and Mama called from the cellar, "Caroline, can you please get that? I've got my hands in soapy water." I quickly dried my hands and answered, "Hello?"

It wasn't the dark-haired nurse, it was Aunt Grace; her voice sounded high-pitched and strange. "Caroline? Is your Mama there?" She made a sniffling noise, then said, "Your Grandma passed away this morning."

Carefully laying the receiver on the table, I called down the cellar stairs to Mama, "Aunt Grace is on the phone." Then I ran out the back door, down through the yard to the lilac hedge, and crawled in among the shady undergrowth. I stayed there till early afternoon, when Mama came to find me.

A Project Comparing The Holding Ability Of Two Types Of Atlatl Dart Points

Richard VanderHoek

Richard VanderHoek

ABSTRACT

Archaeological information indicates that toggling harpoon heads were primarily used for sea mammal hunting in areas of Alaska with pack ice, while barbed dart heads were used in more southerly ice free areas. Since this distribution of projectile types is probably related to requirements of holding on to sea mammals under different sets of water conditions, an experiment was set up to compare the holding power of these points. To do this, replicas were constructed of both a barbed dart point and a toggling harpoon point with a harpoon foreshaft. An atlatl (spear-thrower) and two throwing darts were also made: one to use with the atlatl for practice, and one with an antler socket-piece to use with the points for testing. A test medium was made of meat, covered with Crisco and wrapped in leather. Each point was thrust into this medium, and the force needed to withdraw it was measured on a spring scale. It was found that the toggling harpoon had approximately three times the holding power of the barbed dart, with the hide providing almost all the resistance to withdrawal in each case. These findings suggest that the toggling harpoon was most likely to be used when loss of the animal was feared. To give more concrete results, however, the experiment should be repeated with a test medium of thicker leather, more nearly like a seal hide, and with a wedge-shaped socket design which would allow repeated thrusts with each type of point.

How and why things are done can be very intriguing. Two aspects of this are interrelated: (1) how something is done and (2) why it is done. If you know the solution to one, you can often figure out the other. This facet of experimental archaeology can be

Richard VanderHoek's paper was completed for Anthropology 480 and 211, "Analytical Techniques in Archaeology & Fundamentals of Archaeology," Dr. William Workman and Dr. Douglas Veltre, Professors, UAA Anthropology Department.

most enjoyable: recreating some object in the original materials, not just to have around to look at, but to see through its construction and use what one can learn about the culture and people that originally made it.

Because of an interest in experimental archaeology, in the fall of 1987, the author opted for a hands-on project to be done for the classes of Dr. William Workman and Dr. Douglas Veltre at the University of Alaska Anchorage. Background research on archaeological evidence for sea mammal hunting techniques showed that 90% more toggling harpoon heads than barbed dart heads are found in areas with pack ice, while the reverse is true among contemporary maritime cultures to the south where the seas are ice-free. Based on this information, an attempt was made to work backwards to suggest a hypothesis based on differential holding power of the points. Specifically, if a harpoon with attached line was not thrust into an animal before it sounded, the prey would probably be lost under the ice. It was hypothesized that since the chance is greater of losing an already-struck seal in an ice pack area, where a protruding dart shank could get scraped off on the ice (in comparison to an open water area) the hunter on the ice would want a point that would hold as firmly as possible (Arutiunov and Sergeev, 1975: 161). Thus, it was supposed that under these conditions the toggling harpoon head would hold better than the barbed dart head.

To test the hypothesis, the author proposed to build an atlatl (spear thrower) and a throwing dart, with a toggling harpoon point and a barbed point for the dart. A test medium, similar to a seal would be found or made, and a scale would be used to measure the force needed to withdraw the two points after they had been thrust into the test medium. (If time had permitted, the effects of different types and locations of fletching on the flight of the dart would have been tested, but that opportunity did not present itself).

Nelson's ethnographic work The Eskimo about Bering Strait (1899) provided the most useful description about the construction and appropriate use of atlatls and darts. He says, "The throwing sticks used by the Unalit Eskimo are made of a length proportioned to the size of the person who is to use them: this is determined by the measurement of the forearm from the point of the right elbow to the tip of the outstretched forefinger." (Nelson, 1899: 153). On the length of the darts he states, "The ordinary length of the seal spears used with throwing sticks by the Unalit is calculated as three times the distance from the point of the maker's elbow to the tip of the outstretched forefinger with the added width of the left thumb for each of the first two cubits and the width of the left hand added to the last."(Nelson, 1899: 153, 154) These relative measurements were used to determine the length of the atlatl and dart. The atlatl and dart were made to fit the author's forearm, however, and are considerably larger than most ethnographic examples. For instance, the Eskimo-made seal darts were usually 4 to 4.6 feet long (Nelson, 1899: 135) whereas the one in this experiment is 5 feet 7 inches long.

Two darts were constructed, one to use with the points to do the test, the other to use in practice with the atlatl. The test dart has a shaft made from birch dowling, 3/4 inch in diameter, and a caribou antler socket piece. To join the two, a "V" notch was cut in the base of the socket piece with a handsaw and wood rasp. A matching "V" tip was cut on the birch dowl dart shaft. The two were then glued together, with wood glue replacing the more traditional blood as a bonding agent. Later, the joint area was wrapped with wet babiche (rawhide) and allowed to dry.

This technique described by Nelson (1899: 136) made a solid joint (See Figure 1).

After experimenting with the different kinds of materials then available (moose, caribou, deer antler, and walrus rib), moose antler was selected for making the points and foreshaft. This was the most dense antler then available, having the least porous interior. The barbed dart was the first of the points completed (See Figure 1). It took seven hours to make the dart, using a hand saw, drill, and a variety of files. The toggling harpoon point took nearly six hours to shape, but the harpoon foreshaft, being a simple piece, only took three (See Figure 1). The toggling harpoon is self-armed, having no stone tip.

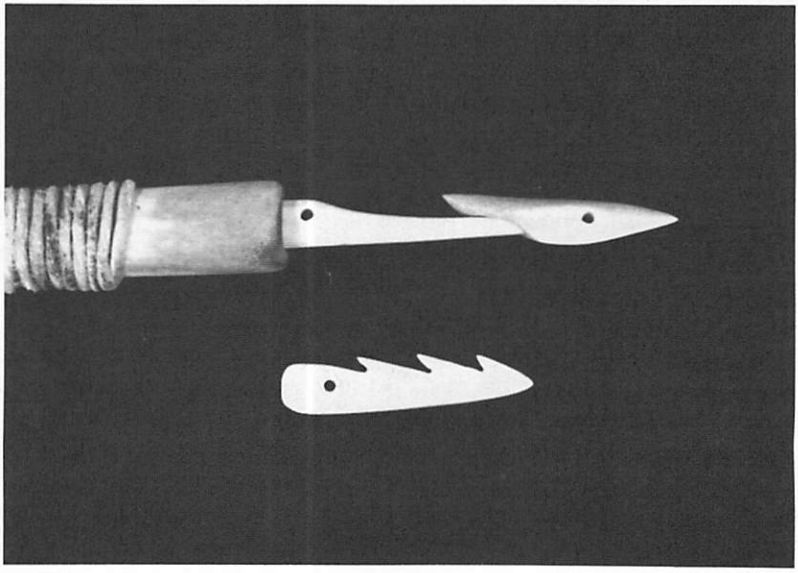


Figure 1

The throwing board was made of partially cured birch, coming from a tree cut two summers before. The finger pegs and dart stop were made of moose antler, and the dart stop pin was of walrus ivory. (The dart stop is an upward projecting plate at the rear of the throwing board, against which the tail of the dart rests. The dart stop pin projects from the dart stop plate and fits into a depression drilled in the end of the dart. Serving the same purpose as the nock of an arrow, the dart stop pin helps keep the dart tail in place on the throwing board). Approximately sixteen hours were spent shaping, fitting, and finishing the atlatl.

A practice dart was made to have something to use for practice with the atlatl other than the test dart. It was fashioned to the same approximate length and diameter as the test dart, but with a metal head, fletching, and a shaft painted red to permit it to be found more easily in the snow. The test dart was never fletched as it was evident it could not be thrown. After making the dart, two hours were spent practicing with it. It was evident that a lot more practice would be needed before possible destruction of the dart points could be risked in throwing them at a target. The practice dart was used first for a few minutes without fletching. Since the tail of the dart shaft kept trying to bypass the tip after being thrown, it was apparent that fletching was probably necessary. At one

point, one third of the metal conduit head was cut off, reducing the weight and making the dart fly straighter. As will be discussed later, this practice raised as many questions about dart construction and atlatl technique as it answered.

In searching for an appropriate test medium, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game was contacted for information on the availability of dead animals for experimentation. After learning that all that is normally encountered is an occasional road-killed moose, it was determined that a seal would have to be "made." A pseudo-seal was therefore constructed, consisting of a five-pound, 7 by 11 inch beef roast, two inches thick and bound tightly in twine. To simulate blubber, the meat was covered on one side with two thirds of a pound of Crisco, one half to three quarters inches thick. This package was covered with wax paper and then wrapped with a piece of lightweight, three to four ounce (one-sixteenth inch thick) leather.

Once made, the pseudo-seal was set on a rug over styrofoam on a garage floor. The test medium was thrust into, not thrown into. Each point was fully buried in the "seal," to a depth where the dart socket made a depression in the leather "skin." A spring scale was attached to the line loop coming from each point, and then they were individually extracted, noting in the process how much force was needed. The barbed dart required 20 pounds of force for withdrawal, while the toggle harpoon head took almost 60 pounds.

The most noticeable initial impression from the test was how well both points penetrated. Each went completely through the test piece, including the four underlying leather folds. It appeared that the meat had little or no holding effecton the points, although it should be noted that the end-grain roast used in the experiment is soft, non-sinewy meat. The hide seemed to have provided almost all of the resistance to both darts. The toggling harpoon head had approximately three times the holding power of the barbed dart, and had toggled parallel to the hide across the entrance hole. To extract it, the head had to be physically torn out of the leather.

Although more tests are needed, it was concluded that the hypothesis is probably correct. The toggling harpoon had considerably more holding power than the barbed dart.

Implications and Musings

One apparent advantage of a barbed dart is that it doesn't have to penetrate as deeply as a toggling harpoon in order to have some degree of holding power. While the toggling harpoon has to penetrate completely beneath the skin before it will toggle and set itself, the barbed dart need only go deep enough to have one or two barbs catch and hold. The authors of the Thule Pioneers (Arnold, 1986: 34, 37) have noted this, and speculate that the barbed heads were used with throwing harpoons, while toggling heads were used for thrusting. Thinking along these lines one could hypothesize that most toggling heads are found in ice-flow areas because they are used in short range situations as the heads of hand-thrust or thrown spears, or as short-range darts. Used in this way the heads would penetrate deeply enough to toggle. Also, a toggling harpoon is not as easily brushed off by a sea mammal against the ice as a protruding barbed dart would be. Barbed darts, on the other hand, may have been used more for open-water, long range hunting, such as was practiced in ice-free areas. Because the barbed dart may only have

a moderate purchase in the skin, only a moderate resistance could be applied to the line attached to the dart. This may be one of the reasons why the barbed dart line was usually tied on to the narrow dart shaft instead of dragging a sealskin float. Another reason for using the shaft as a drag was the tendency of the heavy dart socket to sink, raising the fletching in the air, like a flag.

A more speculative point might also be worth considering. It is possible that the thickness and composition of the hide on the ice-frequenting mammals is different from their cousins farther south, making a toggling head more desirable.

It was found after washing the blood and Crisco off the dart points that they become rough and prickly, especially on the porous side of the point that had been the inside of the antler. This roughness would have been very undesirable as it would have hindered penetration. Bone and antler points could have been polished (compressed), or treated with some substance like grease or oil to make them impervious to immersion (Fagan, 1985:337).

It was found in working the antler that most of the shaping of the pieces was easily done with a rasp and file. This does not mean that the aboriginal version was done with abraders, only that it could have been. Projects like this can help one gain an ability to recognize what tools could have been used to make other tools and artifacts.

Improvements

In retrospect, while numerous improvements could have been made on this project, two items in particular, done differently, may have increased the validity of the results. The first would have been to use a heavier leather. Either nine to ten ounce leather (1/4 inch thick) should have been used, or if one were available, an actual seal skin. The penetrating power of the antler points were greatly underestimated; resulting in the use of an excessively thin hide. When it was seen how easily the points penetrated the seal and how relatively easy they were withdrawn, it was obvious a mistake had been made. One of the main things that gives an experiment like this validity is its ability to be replicated, which brings us to the other suggested improvement. One reason each point was not tried multiple times was that it was plain to see that the leather skins provided all of the holding power, even though the leather itself was unrealistically light. The other reason for not trying again was that after the first two thrusts with the dart, the socket became so loose that neither point would stay attached. Recently, after examining numerous archaeological examples, it became evident that the most common base for darts and foreshafts is a stepped-wedge shape, not the rounded bottom shape that was copied. As it did for the original users, the wedge-shaped base, coupled with a wood socket insert would have allowed this experiment greater durability.

The experiment would have been more ethnographically accurate if nothing but sea mammal material would have been used to make the sockets and points, following the custom of the Eskimo hunters. If the points had been made from ivory, they would have been sharper and smoother. To function more accurately, the socket should have been longer and heavier. As it was towed through the water by the already struck animal, a heavier socket piece would have made the socket end of the dart hang more vertically in the water, raising the fletching end of the dart to be seen more easily by the hunter following the prey.

It might have helped if someone had been available who was skillful enough with the atlatl to hit the target,reliably with the dart. As it was, the amount of force used in the thrusts was possibly more consistent than the throwing would have been.

The test medium could have used other improvements as well. The meat backing the hide should have been at least three inches thick, such as a haunch or slab of meat rather than an end grain roast.

To accurately register the force needed to withdraw the points from the thick hide, a dynamometer should be used with a scale capable of measuring from 0 to 400+ pounds.

As is true of many experiments, working with the atlatl and dart raised more questions than it answered. What would be the optimum head weight, shaft length and diameter, and amount and location of fletching for a stable, long-range dart? What about a short-range, hard-hitting "magnum" dart or harpoon? What kind of penetration could be expected from points at other selected ranges? How would the style of throwing from a kayak differ from an atlatl used standing on shore? Is a sealskin float really harder to tow through the water than a dart shaft? The answers to all these questions would help give a more complete picture of Eskimo/Aleut hunting technology.

References

Arnold, Charles D.
1986 Thule Pioneers. Prince of Wales, Northern Heritage Center Occasional Papers #2.

Arutiunov, S. and D. Sergeev
1975 Stability and Adaptability in the Evolution of Hunting Tools in Ancient Eskimo Cultures. W. Fitzhugh (editor).

Fagan, Brian M.
1985 In the Beginning-An Introduction to Archaeology. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Nelson, Edward William
1899 The Eskimo about Bering Strait. Smithsonian Institution Press (Reprinted 1983).

Barkoons

Richard Chiappone

By the time Susie Iaktok realized she had lost her meal ticket, it was too late. The man was long gone, and she'd forgotten to wrench a dinner out of him before he staggered away from the bar. Now her empty stomach was churning.

She leaned back on her stool and looked at the clock in the face of the beer sign revolving overhead. It would be several hours yet before the brothers began doling out their horrible breakfasts at the shelter. "Gussak food," Susie groaned, "A few more years in the city and I'll be a stinking white woman." She belched and slouched back over the bar top.

Susie shook the hair out of her face and glanced into her empty glass.

Nothing.

She tried to focus on the mirror behind the display of liquor bottles across from her, but the bottles rattled on their shelf and did a little dance as the electronic roar of the strange band shook the bar. The glimpse of her puffy face staring back at her from between the vibrating bottles made her cringe. She turned away from the mirror. A headache raged behind the numb mask of her facade, and she was too tired to wonder any longer why the musicians called themselves Dismal Baptismal. It was just one more Gussak mystery to Susie; one more thing she didn't understand about the white man's world.

One thing she did understand was that if she wasn't going to eat tonight, she at least needed another drink.

"Why did you let him go? You stupid girl," she muttered. "He wasn't so bad, I don't think. He never touched you."

She struggled to remember who he was, where they'd met.

It had begun that afternoon. Susie crawled out of her Visqueen plastic lean-to in the weeds along the railroad tracks and saw a man she recognized from her village. He was standing in the middle of the little tent camp looking confused, lost. Susie straightened her clothes a bit and licked her fingers to rub the sleep from the corners of her eyes. She called him by his Yupik name. She hadn't heard a word of her own language in weeks. Now it sounded strange to her, even coming from her own lips.

The man was delighted to find a familiar face in the big city. So delighted, that he bought her beer after beer, using the money he'd just received for a whale bone carving. He complained that the carving had taken him much of the winter to complete, and he'd gotten far less than it was worth. But even so, the cash made a lump in the man's pocket that Susie was eager to help reduce. It had been some time since she had connected with a man who could afford so many Olys.

And the man was only interested in conversation! How lucky could she get? All she had to do was endure the boring stories about her village: who had become sick on spoiled beaver tail, why there were so few eggs on the nests of the water birds. In no time Susie found herself yawning. It made her wonder how she ever lived out there. But she

---

Richard Chiappone's paper was completed for English 662, "Fiction Workshop," Ron Spatz Professor, UAA Creative Writing Program.

smiled her toothless smile and the beer kept on pouring as the afternoon deteriorated into evening. Eventually though, Susie said something wrong, because the man just stood up and walked out.

Now it was very late, and the villager was long gone. Probably to some other woman, Susie thought.

"Whore!" she shouted out loud, though she knew she'd gotten off easily this time: no struffle, no wrestling, no bruises or pain at all—except the hunger, and that was entirely her own fault.

The bartender shook a finger at her when she yelled, and she sunk a little deeper into the bar top. She tried to work up the energy to start from scratch to find another man, but her eyes hurt, and her stomach burned, and she was so tired. Instead, she laid her head on the bar between her glass and her ashtray and let the steady, throbbing bass beat carry her back to the village, back to the little mission school.

There was a photograph of a mysterious masked animal on a page in her teacher's book. She never could figure out why the missionary was showing them those pictures of the unfamiliar creatures. They were like nothing she'd ever seen on the tundra or the pack ice. Still, Susie didn't question it, almost everything else the cold white man taught them was equally useless. But there was something about that one photo that fascinated her. The way the ring-tailed animal gripped a fish in paws like a man's hands. The way it sunk its needle sharp teeth into the fish. She appreciated the skill and efficiency obvious in the little hunter.

When the book was passed across the room, Susie saw her chance. The page came out easily and she hid it in her anorak, not really knowing what she was going to do with it. It seemed that the white man hadn't noticed.

The music from the band stopped abruptly and Susie woke up at the bar.

"Men," she said sitting up.

She forced the heels of her hands into her eyes and raked her black bangs off her forehead with her fingers. She pressed on her face until little swirling lights appeared behind her eyelids, but the headache was still there. When she could see straight again —more or less— she swiveled on her stool to survey the crowd.

The bar was packed with a mixed crowd of whites and natives. Some of the natives appeared to be villagers visiting the city. They stood in clumps of three or four pointing or gazing at the unruly regulars who were getting very boisterous at this late hour. Many of the non-whites though were street natives like herself, Yupiks or Athapaskans mostly, a few Tlingits and Aleuts.

Susie looked past the obvious regulars. They knew all of her tricks and wouldn't waste money on her even on the odd occasion when they had any. What she wanted was another dumb one like the villager she had earlier that day, someone from the Bush where Susie's game was not well known, someone who would invest his money in the promises Susie made, or at least suggested, promises she had no intention of keeping.

She scanned the crowd as the amplified music started up again. Men poured onto the dance floor with their women in tow. The room became a mass of pushing and shoving bodies. There had to be one man among them who would buy her another beer. Her glass had been empty for some time now.

At the edge of the dance floor she saw two young Eskimo men paying a waitress for drinks. They looked to be newly arrived from one of the coastal villages. They had

cash to spend, their shares of the fish money, Susie guessed. They were still boys really, dark and handsome, their shiny black hair so straight and thick that each strand seemed to roll off the one next to it.

Susie started to slide off the bar stool to approach the young men when they were collared by two white women. Susie was well aware that she couldn't compete with that. The white women were barely legal, and they wore the short rabbit fur jackets and skin tight pants that made the men grin so foolishly. She looked hopelessly as the boys called out for another waitress and a round of drinks for the women. She licked her lips and sighed. Next to those two, Susie knew she looked old. The city had transformed her into a shapeless pile of bulges and rolls, and the alcohol had left her face crisscrossed with lines that would have taken the arctic wind decades to carve.

Too bad, she thought. The young ones always liked the promises she made, and they usually bought her drinks until they realized she would never leave the bar with them. And even then, when they left her in the inevitable flurry of cuffs and insults, they rarely showed the inventive cruelty of the city men. In that way at least, Susie though, village men were less dangerous than the street natives, and certainly far less so than the unpredictable gussaks. Then again, she reasoned, the young Eskimos sometimes made up for their lack of meanness with sheer strength. It was so complicated, so many things to take into consideration. Susie watched the young men a moment longer. They looked so innocent, like the boys in the mission school, the ones who told the teacher after she'd made the mistake of showing them the stolen picture of the animal.

"Susie, I want you to remain after class today," Rev. Munson said. He stood at the head of the class and frowned down at the crumpled page in his hands. Gripping it at each edge, he strethched it taut between his hands as if that could straighten it. Susie watched the muscles in the man's jaw ripple with anger. She was terrified that the paper would suddenly rip, that the mysterious white man would explode. Susie's stomach hurt, even way back then.

"I could use a drink," she said to the man seated beside her at the bar, but he just grinned and bobed his head to the music of the band.

I wish they all could be California
I wish they all could be California
I wish they all could be California girls.

She continued to look around the bar, nervously running her tongue over the empty spaces in her upper and lower gums. The wide gaps there were almost smooth now. How fast things heal. It wasn't that long ago that she woke up in the EMS van clutching her teeth in her hand like four bits of ivory. That man hadn't even hit her that hard! How easily the teeth had fallen out. And if she only hadn't had her poor cold fingers jammed into her front pockets she might have saved her teeth a little. With bad luck like that, living in the city was getting harder every day. Now it was a struggle just to smile sweetly and keep a man filling her glass. And an even greater struggle to avoid producing the goods she promised but never really wanted to deliver when it came right down to it.

She looked beyond the table where the Eskimo boys and white girls sat, and she saw three men in a corner booth. On one side sat two black men. To Susie they looked almost identical, except that one wore a thin moustache. They were both big men, but they leaned forward talking across a pitcher of beer to a white man that dwarfed them.

He was enormous. His body occupied most of the bench on his side of the booth, and there seemed to be barely enough room for his massive torso to fit behind the table. Susie found herself staring. He was by far the biggest man she had ever seen.

The man had one damaged eye, closed and blackened. A line of sutures ran across his eyebrow and over to his right temple. The wound might have looked substantial on a smaller man, but it seemed like a scratch on the man's huge head. Most of his lower face was covered by a bushy red beard that ran down across his leather vest and touched the table top right behind that pitcher of beer.

She watched the big man listening to the blacks speak. He was fascinating in the way a bear is. She couldn't take her eyes off him. When he spoke, he picked at the stitches on his forehead. She couldn't imagine who could have given him the shiner.

Susie was not drunk enough to throw herself on that man. But it was late, and there didn't seem to be any foolish villagers in sight, and she simply had to have one more taste before the long walk to the railroad yard. She slid off her stool and wobbled through the dancers toward his table.

"You have a black eye," she shouted over the music, trying to stay back from the booth a little.

But her knees buckled and she fell forward, catching herself on the table with both hands. The white man reached out and grabbed her by the roll of midriff that hung over the tops of her jeans. He dragged her down into the seat beside him, pinching her flesh between his thick thumb and forefinger.

Susie shreiked, and the man let go, laughing.

"Why you hurt this little Eskimo girl?" Susie whined, massaging her side.

"Where d'your teeth go?" the man asked. "D'you get drunk an' swallow them?"

He squeezed Susie's face with one giant hand, forcing her mouth open in a round, toothless pucker.

"What do you think that would be good for?" he asked the other two.

Susie's hands flapped on the table, lightly brushing the sides of the beer pitcher, but she made no attempt to fight back.

The two black men smiled but appeared to be bored.

"Get rid of her, Santo," the moustached man said.

"What?"

"Get rid of her!" the man yelled over the noise from the band.

"No, I do believe I'll keep this one," the man called Santo said.

Susie swore to herself, "Bastard! I'm gonna run as soon as he lets go."

But when he released her face she heard herself say, "I'm awful thirsty."

Santo pushed his glass over to her, and she drank it down. He immediately refilled it and watched her, turning a little in his seat to see better out of his one functioning eye.

The other men looked amazed.

"What are you doing man?" The moustache spoke again. "You gonna let this little ball of seal oil hustle you for drinks and smack you upside the head with a bottle like that last one? You ain't got many eyeballs left.

"Yeah," was all his friend said.

"Why don't you boys just run along?" Santo said. "I think I know how to handle

them now."

"All the women in the whole fucking world, and you picking the most stepped-on thing I ever seen! I swear!" The black men were both fidgeting nervously. Susie thought she saw fear, or maybe it was pity in their eyes when they looked at her.

"Santo, don't do nothing stup—"

Susie saw Santo give his partners an icy smile. They traded looks and hesitated a moment, but then they both slid out of the booth and elbowed their way through the crowded dance floor. Only the very drunkest of the revelers failed to step aside for them. Susie gulped her drink.

Santo turned his attention to her once more.

"Drink up, I think we might have some fun."

He leaned back in the seat and grinned and Susie wanted to be back under her plastic tarp, comfortable on the thick stack of cardboard she had accumulated all summer long. But she couldn't move fast enough to escape, and besides there was still beer in the pitcher. If only she could get enough to drink. She hoped this monster wasn't in a hurry.

"I could tell you a story," she said, reaching for the pitcher nonchalantly.

"I got all night."

She poured herself another glass, trying to collect her thoughts. The beer in her stomach now felt good cooling the fire there, though it did nothing for the headache.

She took a long drink and closed her eyes, and she heard the click of the latch on the schoolroom door as her teacher closed it behind the last of her classmates leaving the school. She was alone with Reverand Munson for the first time. He stood at the window, looking toward the village, thinking about whatever white men think about. She stood waiting in front of his desk. God! these people are so strange. What was the big deal about one page missing from a book with so many?

Santo's voice brought Susie back. "Are you gonna talk, or sleep?"

The tremendous din had ceased again. The band was on its break. And though people continued to dance to music from the juke box during the intermission, the volume was not nearly as great. Inside the alcove of the corner booth Susie was able to speak in a normal voice and be heard.

"There was a Yupik girl just like me, really smart and pretty and young. She was so smart, she went to school. Not just school, but college. Not just college, like Anchorage college, but <u>real</u> college, like United States college!"

Susie paused to see if the man was going to argue about that, but he just waved her on with a rolling motion of his hand.

"Ok. This girl loves animals, see? So when she come home from college, she brings the little animal that lives in the Lower States, you know like a bear, but small, has rings on it tail, has dark eye make-up like a whore."

Susie made the form of spectacles around her eyes with her fingers and thumbs. Santo sat up and tugged on his beard trying to figure out what she was describing.

"A racoon? You talking 'bout racoons?"

"Yeah, yeah rockoon. Rockoon that was it, rockoon."

She said it a couple of more times, though she knew she would not remember it for long.

"Ok racoon, so what?" He settled back.

"Rockoon, hmmm... yeah. So the girl go back to her village, but the village is

gone! The people have to move cause floods come, and the girl is all alone with rockoon. Only thing left at the village site is one big dog, malamute mostly, maybe some wolf too. So the girl takes him too and they walks across tundra, looking for her family.

"Weeks she walks. But it is summer and there is lots of food. Only bad thing is rockoon is female in heat, and big malamute jumps on little rockoon."

Santo sat up straight again.

"Sheeeit! A dog ain't gonna fuck no racoon!"

"No, no really! Listen! The rockoon fight like a devil, but the dog is big, and strong. He is the man. He get his way, like always."

"I still say no dog's gonna—"

"Shush now!!" Susie said without thinking.

Santo's hand came up instantly, and his good eye flashed. But Susie just winced and kept on talking. Santo slowly lowered his hand to the table top.

"Soon the girl finds the village. She walks in from the bushes like a ghost. The villagers pretend they don't know her. They say she is a witch because she has the strange little animal with her. They are afraid, but they let her stay. She have to live by herself. Her own mother says she is not her daughter. The young men think she is beautiful. But... they want to hurt her.

"Then the rockoon has puppies, three. The puppies are really big, and the little rockoon die. The girl puts them in to nurse with other puppies and they grow fast. They look really odd. They get big like wolf, but have rings on tail. And they have black shadow around eyes too. And they have very sharp teeth, very small. Not like dog teeth, like dog salmon teeth almost, even sharper, very sharp! They howl like dogs. She calls them barkoons."

"That's bullshit!" sneered Santo, "Eskimo bullshit."

"I told you, no bullshit!! I know this girl! Now be quiet!'

Santo grabbed Susie's arm and twisted. "Just finish the story."

"Ok! Ok!"

He let go of her arm. Susie looked straight down into her glass as if the words were written there.

"One day the girl was picking berries, alone. Five boys from the village been sniffing gasoline. They're very brave now and they catch the girl in the willows. They hold her down and laugh when her legs are spread, but the barkoons are big now. And they are never far away from girl.

"One boy have his pants down when the animals come through the bushes. They rip his stones off. Two boys are lying with no throats. Two boys are screaming for the sharp teeth to stop tearing off their fingers, ripping their legs. The barkoons running everywhere, biting! biting! biting! The girl walks home safely then and always after that."

Susie stopped.

"That's it? That's the whole story?"

Susie just pouted and refused to speak, she rubbed her arm where Santo had twisted it.

"That's bullshit. Let's get out of here," he said.

Santo made to leave.

Susie eyed the pitcher. There was at least one more glass in it.

"No," she said.

She drained the rest of her beer and reached for the pitcher.

Santo put a hand on her shoulder and shoved her out of the booth. Susie rolled onto the floor, landing in the middle of the writhing dancers. A man stepped on her fingers. She yelped, and pounded at his leg with her fist, and kicked out at everyone around her until Santo waded in and picked her up by the collar of her denim jacket. He hauled her kicking and wailing, through the laughing crowd. Outside on the sidewalk she went limp.

"Come on now, stand up!"

"I gotta go pee."

"Just get moving!"

"I really do."

"Shut up!"

Santo shook her until her feet connected with the ground and made her walk while he pushed her ahead, squeezing her fat upper arm.

"I gotta pee," she said feebly.

They pushed through a knot of men loitering in front of the bar, and Susie scanned their faces for some sign of assistance. But the natives and the gussaks alike were all strangers to her.

She let her eyes close and felt the buildings passing by as they walked. Between each store, or bar, a draught of cool night air hit one side of her face. She didn't know where he was taking her, but it wasn't the first time in her life that things were out of her control.

They passed the open door of a pool hall, and she could hear the click of balls colliding; then another bar, and the smell of smoke and stale beer. And then they must have passed a man smoking a pipe.

Susie's eyes fluttered open at the sweet aroma of the pipe tobacco. When she closed them again, Rev. Munson was standing behind his desk across from her. The crumpled page with the photo of the racoon was lying on the desk between them. Rev. Munson lit his pipe and stood staring rudely at Susie. He just kept watching her face as if he would never stop looking at her. Then, even worse, he came around the desk and stood behind her for the longest time. The smell of the pipe tobacco lost its sweetness.

She knew he was watching her still. He must be thinking about the punishment. Was it going to be a spanking? Susie wished he would hurry now. She'd felt the sting of the wooden ruler before. It was no big deal. She found herself looking into the beady eyes behind the mask of the animal in the picture. Then the teacher set his pipe down on the desk, and Susie felt his hands on her.

A stiff wind cut through Susie's clothes and she realized she was still in the clutches of Santo. He was pushing her onward through the cold streets. From the sounds of the gulls and the taste of salt on the wind, she knew they were heading toward the tide flats and the Port Authority warehouses and yards.

As they got farther from the cluster of seedy bars there were fewer people on the streets. A blue-and-white cruised slowly by, but Santo threw one huge arm around Susie's shoulders and hugged her close to his chest as they walked. She could barely breath with her face smashed against his beard and vest. They must have looked like drunken lovers staggering along. The patrol car moved on. Santo loosened his grip a bit.

Susie looked up at Santo's wounded eye. She wished the woman had killed him. Suddenly she wondered what had happened to the woman. In a moment of panic she kicked and clawed with all her might. But Santo just clamped an iron hand around the back of her neck and held her at arm's length. He squeezed until she stopped squirming.

Through the pain Susie heard the voice of Rev. Munson saying, "You have to be prepared, Susie! There's a better world than this one, but you can't enter unless you are prepared! Are you prepared, Susie? Are you prepared?"

Susie's ears were ringing and the preacher's words seemed to be echoing through the city around her. They bounced off hard brick walls. They ricocheted metallically in garbage dumpsters. They sprung out of every sewer and manhole. And they fell from the tops of glass towers, sharp and cold as icicles. Her head pounded and pounded until she was ready to drop.

And then she heard the howling.

First one long, mournful wail, then an answer from another direction, and finally a third from farther off.

For a moment, she thought it was the sound of sirens, the familiar and almost comforting night cries of the city. But then they started again, closer, much closer. And as Santo dragged her farther into the lonely alleyways, Susie heard the rapid scrabble of clawed feet hurrying toward them.

Santo didn't seem to notice. He shoved her ahead of him up a short flight of wooden steps to the door of a deserted clapboard building. He slammed her into the door to force it open, and she whimpered in groggy pain. As he closed the door behind them, a chorus of growls rumbled up the stairs.

They were in a dark room that may have been an office at one time. A filthy window occupied most of one wall. The room was empty but for a large oak desk sitting in a square of white light from a security lamp on the exterior of the building. Santo pushed her onto the desk top and tugged on her jeans, and Susie heard scratching at the door, saw the shadows of three large animals on the loading dock just outside the window.

Now it was Rev. Munson pushing Susie onto the desk top. Her hand shot out and grabbed the photo of the strange animal. For some reason the man could not stop talking. He laid on her and talked and talked. "You are the smartest one, Susie," he said. "You will live in a big city someday and have a better life than this village can offer you. But you must be prepared." He rambled on that way for a few moments and then to her astonishment he started crying, and Susie was certain that she would be allowed to keep the picture then.

Susie strained to look out of the abandoned office window. She caught a quick glimpse of a grey and black striped tail swish by the corner of the window frame as she felt Santo pulling her pants down. His hands were rough and urgent but suddenly they stopped and he was screaming at her so loudly she could barely hear the rush of claws coming across the wooden floor of the room.

"You wet yourself! You filthy son-of-bitch!" He seemed to be growling.

He pulled Susie up by the front of her sweater. She staggered to keep her balance with her jeans at her feet. She saw his arm draw back and his beard part as his lips curled over clenched teeth.

But Susie smiled. For in the long, slow second it took for Santo's knuckles to

travel the distance to Susie Iaktok's little nose, she heard the room fill with a tremendous slavering and snarling, the smell of wet fur and foul canine breath, and Susie heard, in rapture and release, the satisfying crunch of cartilage tearing as the barkoon's terrible and wonderful jaws slammed shut around the one-eyed monster's throat.

Guests find the Showcase Luncheon enjoyable.

Navajos - The Dine'

Andrea McClelland

Andrea McClelland

Abstract

A group have Athabascan roots shared by some native groups in Alaska and Canada. In this particular unit, the students are exposed to the structure, values and expectations of a culture different from their own. All skills acquired in this exercise will either directly or indirectly be used in reading, writing, speaking, and listening. The unit consists of ten lessons, most of which are student activity oriented. The lessons focus on the Navajo (Diné) way of life; modes of transportation on the reservation, economics, geography, kinship, language, school life, crafts, traditional dress, food, and housing. The culmination of the unit is a living museum in which the students perform and display the facts learned about the Dine' culture through different modes of learning, reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Finally, students from other classrooms in the school will be able to benefit from the unit by visiting this living museum. The educational lesson plan outlines are enclosed in the article. The additional instructions, handouts, and maps are available from the author upon request.

Lesson Outline

I. Unit topic - Navajos
II. Target population - Intermediate (6th grade)
III. Topic outline
   A. Unit goals/objectives
      1. The students will explore some cultural universals of a social unit through the use of photographs in open discussion.
      2. The students will compare and contrast the Dine' culture with their own listing similarities and differences.
      3. The students will conclude in the realization that just because

Andrea McClelland's unit was completed for Education 401, "Social Studies Methods," Donna Gail Shaw, Professor, UAA School of Education.

cultures are different is not a statement that they are wrong.

4. The students will list and define many aspects of the Dine' culture.
5. The students will learn to organize, prepare, and work together.
6. The students will be able to explain many historical facts of the Navajo Nation.
7. The students will compare advantages and disadvantages of a different community with their own in regard to the resources and choices.
8. The students will know that all people possess cultures unique to their way of life.

B. Background

1. Sources
   a. Books-see References
   b. Film
      "Navajo Indian," Coronet.

C. Lesson Plans

1. Where is the Navajo Reservation? (activity)
2. Which way to Beclabito, Teec Nos Pos and Dennehotso?
3. The Navajo Live in WHAT? (activity)
4. A Day at Ojo Amarillo. (activity)
5. Kinship and Language. (activity)
6. Navajo Crafts. (activity)
7. Navajo Traditional Dress. (activity)
8. Navajo Fry Bread and Beehive Ovens. (activity)
9. Economics.
10. Living Museum. (activity)

D. Evaluation

The unit will be evaluated in a variety of ways encompassing both the visual and performing arts, as well as, listening, speaking, writing and reading. There will also be written evaluation covering all levels of Bloom's Taxonomy.

Lesson One

Where is the Navajo Reservation?
(approximately forty minutes)
Activity Lesson.

I. Summary

Students are involved in mapping. Students actively interpret peers' map legends. The topography of the area is described and internalized by individual student's interpretations of the various pictures used in this lesson.

Lesson Two

Which way to Beclabito, Teec Nos Pos and Dennehotso?
(approximately forty minutes).

I. Summary

Students compare and contrast transportation modes to which they are accustomed with those available on the reservation. The students also identify inconveninces with living in a vast land. Mail delivery on the reservation is discussed. The students utilize journal writing to compile information to be utilized throughout the unit.

Lesson Three

The Navajos Live in WHAT?
(approximately sixty minutes)
Activity Lesson

I. Objectives

1. The students will compare a hogan to the type of house they live in.
2. The students will identify a hogan and a shade house.
3. The students will build either a shade house or a hogan.

II. Materials

Students

Shallow cardboard boxes with sides not more than 1 to 1 1/2 inches high. The base of this box should be approximately one by two feet, sand, craft sticks, glue, twigs, brush and leaves, small sizes previously collected, small sizes of feed sacks or similar dull fabric, handouts for specific instructions of shade house and hogan.

Teacher displays

III. Summary

The students build a shade house or a hogan. They discuss the purposes and differences of the two structures. Comparisons are made with the structures the students live in. The finished facsimiles are displayed for all to enjoy.

Roof of Hogan

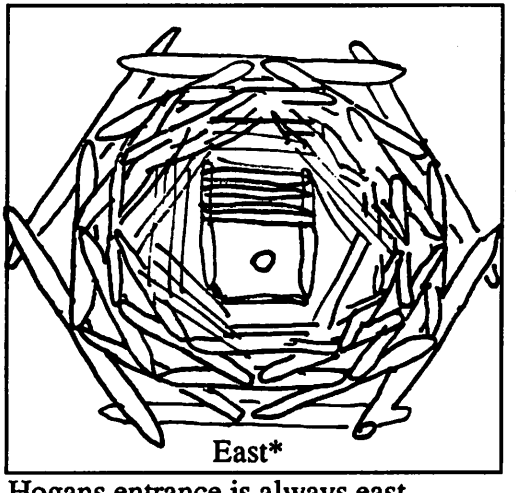
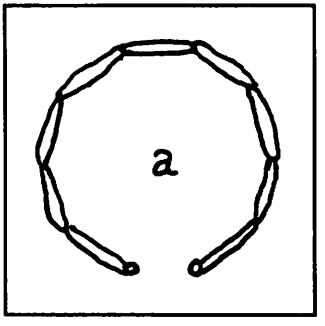


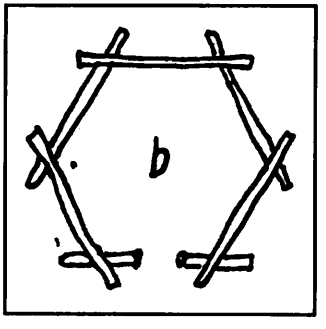
Diagram of corbeled-log roof as seen from above

* Hogans entrance is always east.

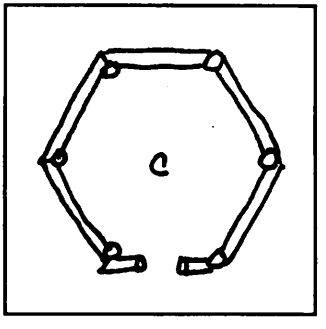
Three Samples of Hogans



Corbeled log hogan
(even-tiered)
Round



*The one we will build
Cribbed-log hogan
Hexagon



Abutting-log hogan
Post may be on inside or outside
Hexagon

Lesson Four
A Day at Ojo Amarillo.
(approximately forty minutes)
Activity Lesson

I. Summary

The students distinguish between school on the reservation and the school they presently attend. Boarding schools are introduced, explained and discussed. Information is shared concerning the Johnson O'Malley Law and its relationship to Indian education.

The students share in the excitement of picking a pen pal on the reservation. They write letters and include a map showing the relationship of Alaska to New Mexico.

Lesson Five
Kinship and Language
(approximately ninety minutes)
Activity Lesson

I. Summary

Students discover and compare differences in kinship and language between their culture and that of the Navajo. They attain experience in utilizing a matrilineal descent chart focusing on first the female ego and then the male ego. They internalize the meaning of matrilineal and ego.

A chart of fifteen words is presented, verbalized and practiced. Petroglyphs and rock art are introduced as an interpretive mode. Students experience creating a simulated petroglyph of their own which is placed on display.

Lesson Six
Navajo Crafts
(approximately ninety minutes)
Activity Lesson

I. Summary

Students recognize the Navajo style of arts and crafts. They distinguish this style from other Native American art. The creation of students' individual sand printing is a highlight of this lesson.

Lesson Seven
Navajo Traditional Dress
(approximately ninety minutes)
Activity Lesson

I. Summary

Students state differences of dress in the Dine' culture in comparison to the way they dress in their culture. They experience creating their own Navajo style shirt or blouse. This involves much planning and organization of design. Students are given an opportunity to model their creations.

Lesson Eight

Navajo Fry Bread and Beehive Ovens

(approximately ninety minutes)

Activity Lesson

I. Objectives

1. Students will compare and contrast the bread we eat and the way it is obtained with the Navajo fry bread.
2. Students will identify and list from an adequate sampling at least five foods representative of Dine' culture with 90% accuracy.
3. Students will work together in preparing a sample of the reservation food.
4. Students will create a beehive oven replica.
5. Students will describe how the oven works.
6. Students will list seven foods found on the reservation with 90% accuracy.
7. Students will recognize advantages and disadvantages with shopping at a trading post.

II. Materials

Students

Cardboard pieces 18x24 inches (30), paper mache, pencil, paper, balloon (30), sand, newspaper.

Teacher

One completed model of a Beehive oven

Steps in the process illustrated on poster board and hung on the chalkboard in sequence.

Deep fryer

Oil

Ingredients listed in Navajo Fry Bread recipe (attachment)

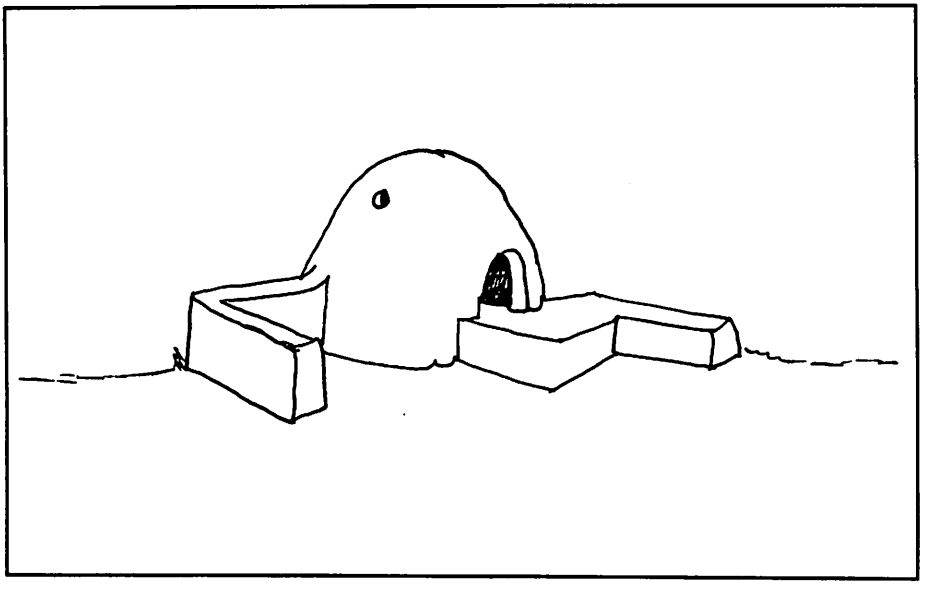
Paper towels

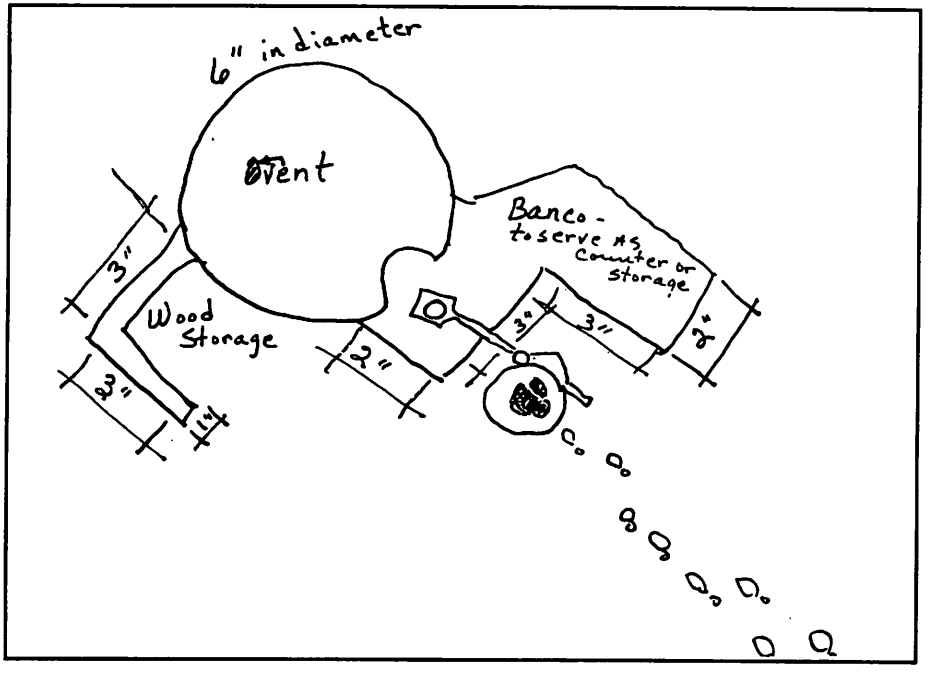
III. Procedure

1. Explain to the students that we will learn many interesting things about how the Navajos acquire their food. We will have an opportunity to taste some Navajo Fry Bread and we will make a Horno, which is a Beehive Oven.
2. Teacher has prepared the bread dough ahead of time and has the grease heating while the lesson is being taught.
3. Teacher explains that before Kit Carson took the Navajos on the "Long Walk" (discussed in previous week) that the culture had moved from a hunting and gathering society to a more sedentary way of life. The fields and orchards of the Navajo were abundant.
4. The Navajo people learned to farm from the Pueblo people and adopted many of their native crops such as squash, beans, pumpkin, melons and corn. They were also quick to adopt European crops such as peaches, oats, wheat, and barley.

5. Herds of animals, not large fields constituted the basis of wealth and prestige.
6. Discussion follows and teacher notes that the reservation is very large and many places on this one million acre area are 50 to 100 miles from the nearest store. The trading post is the most efficient place for the majority of the Navajo people to shop because it is there that they can bring their blankets, jewelry and items to trade for the needed supplies. These include food for people and livestock and tools to make life easier.
7. One food staple that many Navajos grow for themselves is corn. The corn can be ground and cooked in different ways to supplement the diet.
8. Another important food supplement is flour. Most Navajos today trade at the trading post for large sacks of flour, usually weighing around fifty pounds.
9. The teacher tells the students that the Dine' use flour for making Navajo Fry Bread, a major staple of their diet.
10. The teacher has designated an area for the kneading of the dough to take place. She has already mixed the dough because it has to set for a period longer than the lesson.
11. Students have washed their hands previously. Each student is given a piece of dough approximately the size of a tennis ball and instructed on the kneading process.
12. Teacher has previously copied several recipes of the native culture on poster board and has these displayed in the front of the room. The students are instructed to copy the recipes down when they are at their desks following their bread cooking process.
13. Teacher supervises bread frying process.
14. The uses of a horno are discussed.
15. The procedure for building the horno are discussed, reviewed and individual questions are answered. (See attachment for specific instructions.)
16. The students are instructed to place their hornos on the drying table. They are informed they can paint them with white tempra paint in a few days after they are completely dry.
17. The advantages of doing business at a trading post are reviewed and the teacher asks the students what disadvantages they see in trading at a place like that. They name several reasons such as limited selection, the trader being able to set unreasonable prices, and the inconvenience of driving forty-five miles one way to get a tank of gas or a barrel of water.

HORNO
baah bighan = bread's home





DIRECTIONS FOR HORNO

1. Place a newspaper on tops of desks.

2. Place cardboard on newspaper.

3. Blow balloon up to the size of a baseball.

4. Rub the balloon really fast in your hair and stick it on the cardboard. (For areas that have much moisture in the air this will not work and the students will have to tape the balloon to the cardboard using the loop method.)

5. Take premixed plaster of paris and begin to shape and mold the mixture over the balloon. The plaster needs to be fairly thick.

6. Build up the sides.

7. Leave an opening in the front.

8. As plaster begins to dry rub sand over the structure to give it an earth texture.

9. When the plaster is almost set, but still barely pliable take a sharp object such as a sharpened pencil and make a puncture mark on the top left side. This action serves two purposes it makes the vent for the oven and it also deflates the balloon.

10. Instruct the students not to try and remove the balloon because the oven needs to dry well before it is tampered with to any degree.

11. Instruct the students to place the oven on the drying table.

12. Inform the students that in a few days they can paint their ovens white. (Most ovens on the reservation are earth colored, although some are painted white. For the most part it is the Hispanics that paint their ovens. It will not be mandatory for students to paint their ovens.)

RECIPES

Baked Indian Pumpkin

When they are using the outdoor oven, the horno, Indian cooks do not like to waste the heat. When they have finished baking bread and pies, they often will cook items that require a less hot oven, such as pumpkins.

Clean whole pumpkins well. Remove the tops, as if you were going to make jack-o-lanterns. Scoop out seeds and fibers. Place pumpkins in warm oven. Cover the oven opening. Leave the pumpkins overnight. To serve, cut in wedges, sprinkle with sugar and cinnamon, pour on cream and eat. Or serve with salt, pepper and butter. Or scoop out contents and use for pumpkin pie.

Navajo Fry Bread

3 cups flour
1 1/2 teaspoons baking powder
1/2 teaspoon salt
1 1/3 cups warm water
Shortening

Use either all white or half whole wheat flour. Mix flour, baking powder and salt. Add warm water and mix. Dough should be soft but not sticky. Knead until smooth. Tear off a chunk about the size of a peach. Pat and stretch until it is thin. Poke a hole through the middle, and drop into sizzling hot deep fat. (Lard is the traditional shortening, but you might prefer to use vegetable oil.) Brown on both sides. Drain and serve hot. Eat with honey or jam or use for Navajo Tacos.

Blue Corn Bread

This unusual recipe comes from the northern part of the Navajo Reservation. Obviously it is not for the average American kitchen, but it does show the remarkable ingenuity of people who must use the ingredients available far from supermarkets.

1 cup cedar ashes
1 cup hot water
1 pound blue cornmeal
1 quart water

The cedar ashes (really from juniper wood, locally called cedar) should be smooth and fine. Sieve if possible. Mix the ashes with hot water and remove any twigs or other bits of rough material. Add to blue cornmeal. Pour in water gradually, adding only enough to make a soft dough. Form into cakes about a half inch thick. Smooth the surface of the cakes with water. Cook on a medium hot grill on each side until the cakes are done. Use like bread.

Lesson Nine
Economics

I. Objectives

1. Students will describe the agriculture and marketable livestock, listing three kinds of each with 90% accuracy.
2. Students will draw inferences in relation to cause and effect of overgrazing in the making of a desert.
3. Students will list the strengths of the economic base of the Navajo Nation citing five marketable items with 80% accuracy.
4. Students will describe why the railroad was of economic benefit to the Navajo Nation.
5. Students will explain the stock reduction program, when and why.
6. Students will name at least two other sources of wage earning income that were not originally found on the reservation.
7. Students will be able to discuss the importance of trust in reference to the trader and the Navajo people.

II. Materials

Students, pencils, paper, teacher, questions written on chalkboard, covered by a map.

III. Procedure

1. Anticipatory Set-Introduce the lesson. (Explain to the students that we are going to learn some interesting facts about the economic base on the Navajo Reservation. We will do this by discussing livestock and crops and some other ways the Navajos have found to make a living since the intrusion of the white man on their society. We will see how the railroad has benefited the economic base. Then we will talk about the stock reduction program, how it came about and why it was initiated. Finally, we will talk about something all of us need, trust. We will discuss the trust or lack of it between the trader and the Navajo people and also talk about trust as we understand it.)
2. Teacher describes the agriculture listing for the students crops such as barley, oats, peaches, melons, and corn. Teacher tells the students about irrigation in a desert. The soil is very fertile and will grow many things, but the need for water is great. The irrigation systems that government technology and subsidy has brought to the reservation has been very helpful to the Dine' culture.
3. Teacher tells students about the marketable livestock. The Navajos have made a profit from the sheep industry not only in marketing the meat, but also the wool. Other animals that have marketable value are goats, cattle and chickens.

4. Teacher relays some history at this point. In 1864 Kit Carson defeated the Navajos by destruction of many of their fields, orchards and flocks. During this time the Navajo did not have large herds of animals and they did not sell them.

Lesson Ten
The Living Museum
(approximately three hours)
Activity Lesson

I. Objectives

1. Students will gather information for different aspects of Navajo life. This will be presented in the form of a report. The students will use at least three sources and cite these in a bibliography attached at the end of the report.
2. Students will plot the floor plan for the living museum.
3. Students will organize the stations in an attractive manner.
4. Students will display all items produced in the course of the unit study on the Dine' culture.
5. Students will specify instructions and limitations in the form of a handout to be given to the visitors of the museum.
6. Students will be reinforced in their process of learning by using cognitive skills from all levels of Bloom's Taxonomy.
7. Students will evaluate their peers at the end of the living museum.

II. Materials

Students, costumes, responsibility for respective stations, organize material, practice relaying information, Teacher; Oversee the project, two parent volunteers for the fry bread station.

III. Procedure

1. Today we not only have an opportunity to reinforce what we have learned, but we can also introduce our friends to some of the many interesting facts we have accumulated during our Social Studies unit on the Navajo Nation.
2. We decided last week about groups and stations. Please go to your stations now and begin to set up and organize your station. (All props and materials will already be placed in particular areas with correct corresponding numbers for each station.)
3. Students are advised to stand at their respective stations and practice the informative, interesting things they will tell the touring groups. (These parts have already been memorized.) Remember when you are not speaking you are a mannequin and the only way that you may move or speak is if someone touches you with their magic wand. (Students have already discussed this the previous week. They know what a mannequin is and how to perform. They have been practicing for this big day for several previous

days. Proper procedure has been discussed. No one at the station will have access to or be allowed to have a magic wand.)

4. Students are given a ten-minute break to allow them to get dressed. The two parent volunteers will supervise the movement in the hall and dressing room behavior.
5. Students return and start their dress rehearsal. Everyone is at their station. The teacher has her magic wand and the show begins. She progresses from station to station giving positive feedback and helpful hints. Everyone is ready.
6. The first group arrives, the procedure continues.
7. The last group leaves. The homeroom students are given an opportunity to use the wands. One station at a time does this.
8. Students come out of their stations and are seated in the center of the room. The teacher tells them to to be thinking of the evaluation sheets and gives them two minutes to talk in open discussion.
9. Organized discussion follows about the way the day progressed. Such things as the action of others, the attractiveness of the museum, the most interesting display and the most enjoyable part of the day are included in the discussion.

References

Cameron, Shelia Mac Niven.
1978 The Best from New Mexico Kitchens. Sante Fe: New Mexico.

Downs, James F.
1972 The Navajo. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Gilpin, Laura.
1968 The Enduring Navajo. Austin: Universtiy of Texas Press.

Iverson, Peter.
1981 The Navajo Nation. Westport: Greenwood Press.

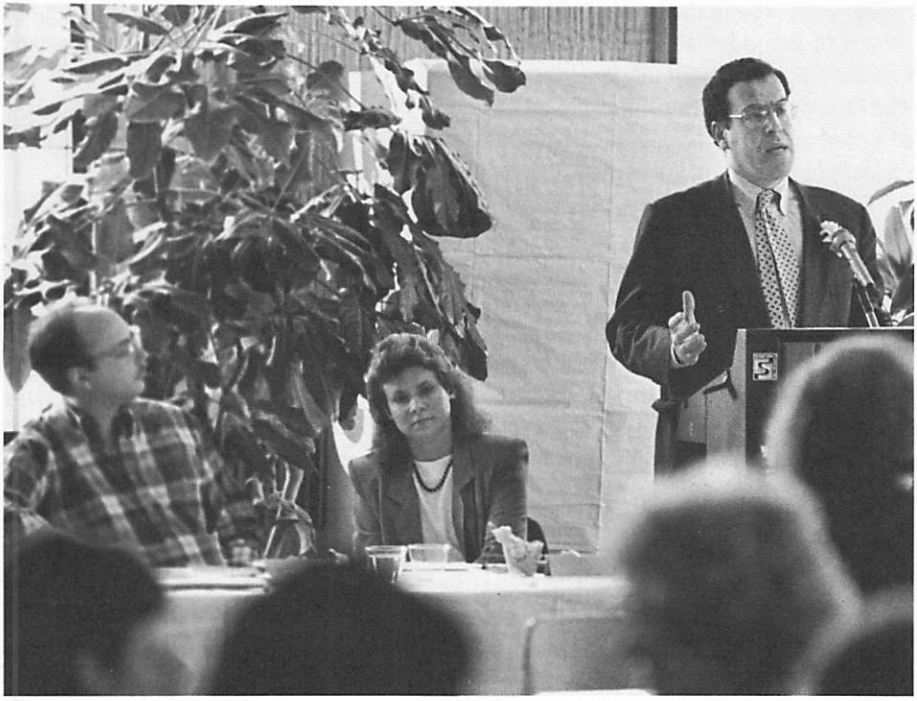
Jett, Stephen C., Spencer, V.E.
1981 Navajo Architecture. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Kelly, Lawrence C.
1968 The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy. Tucson: Universtiy of Arizona Press.

Mills, George.
1959 Navajo Art and Culture. Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum Fine Arts Center.

Underhill, Ruth M.
1956 The Navajo. Norman: Universtiy of Oklahoma Press.

Witherspoon, Gary.
1977 Language and Art in the Navajo Universe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
1975 Navajo Kinship and Marriage. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.



Donna Gail Shaw and SAUAA President listen to Luncheon speaker, Attorney Bob Goldberg

The American Indian and American Democracy

Richard E. Wisecarver

The conquest of North America by Europeans is one of the great adventure stories of all time. The men and women who left England and other European countries at the beginning of the seventeenth century would with a mixture of courage, greed, vision and blind luck forge the beginnings of the United States and a great new political philosophy.

Their trek into the wilderness would forever change man's vision of the social order. The very process by which this conquest was carried out would eventually result in the "shot heard around the world." This process would be the product of the thrusting of groups of individuals shaped by the environment of the seventeenth century England into the environment of the seventeenth century North America (Kamen, 1980: 20-23). The thrusting of these groups into an unfamiliar environment resulted in the moulding of a new society capable of making the "new world," their world. That is, it made them capable of becoming Americans instead of Englishmen.

The question that arises is how and why did they develop their own unique society and culture? The answers are many and complex, and historians of colonial America have allotted a large share of their time to this question. Unfortunately, historians seem to have neglected or ignored one of the possibilities until recently. It has taken the development of a sub-discipline, ethnohistory, to awaken scholars to the role played by the North American Indian in the creation of the "American" culture.

The American Indian, of course, was an obvious part of the North American environment but then so was the forest and the buffalo; and, like them, the Indian was often viewed more as a minor impediment or as a mere spectator to the conquest of this new land. Ethnohistorian, James Axtell criticizes historians and other ethnohistorians when he writes, "Thus both groups of historians have been unable to convice their colleagues, students, or the general public that the Indians are anything but an exotic, if melancholy footnote, to American history" (Axtell, 1982: 274).

During the seventeenth century, the colonies of Virginia and New England were the American frontier, and it is here that I believe the American character began to be formed. The colonist of this first American frontier owed their very survival to their Indian neighbors. The early colonist arrived almost unequipped for survival. They lacked both the skills and emotions to conquer the "new world." The colonial ranks contained too many individuals aspiring to the role of the English landed gentry and too few workers with the skills needed to survive and prosper in the "new world." Colonial leaders were forced to actively seek the help of the Indians for the sake of their infant colonies. Later on the angry Indians, reacting to colonial abuses, would nearly destroy the New England colonies. Even casual reading demonstrates that survival was at times very doubtful for these early seventeenth century colonies during the King Phillip's War. This is a clear contrast to the popular historic perception that was most commonly used by colonists to justify their seizure of Indian lands.

Richard Wisecarver's paper was a personal research project.

This perception was that the English colonist perceived North America as being an endless wilderness populated only by a scattering of savages. The colonist believed that, since these primitive savages had failed to make proper use of this wilderness by turning it into a productive civilized land, they were justified in pushing the aboriginal inhabitants aside and doing the job themselves.

The "empty lands" perception which implied that the American Indians were unable to make proper use of their land is a perception that I believe continues to guide United States Indian policy to the present day. One only has to observe how the Menominee Indian Termination Act of 1954 and the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act of 1971 have been used to reduce Indian tribal claims and ownership of North American real estate to realize that the "empty land" perception of American Indian land is alive and well. The seventeenth century orgin of this perception of North America was generated for several reasons, not the least being greed. The seventeenth century European world still identified wealth and status with land holdings, and the "new world" seemed to have endless lands just for the taking.

The only apparent barrier other than the physical resistance of the Indians was the moral barrier presented to the colonist by their own religion. They needed a justification for their land grabbing. The dramatic differences between the cultures was sufficient for the colonist to declare the Indians savages.

Historian Michael Kamen tells us, "The very concept of the 'noble savage' exposed deep-rooted feelings of ambivalence; and descriptions of the Indian in early American literature depict him simultaneously as an agent of Satan as well as a noble savage, an enemy to civilization and yet the tutor of civilized men" (Kamen, 1980: 188). The English had used the same argument to justify their conquest of Ireland. The fact that the Indians were non-Christians allowed them to be identified as servants of Satan, just as the English had identified the Catholic Irish as servants of the Spanish and the Devil. The English colonist announced that they were not conquering this new land, but rather that they were driving out Satan and bringing civilization and Christian faith to the "new world" (Kamen, 1980: 187). Many of the higher minded colonist gloried in the gift of civilization that they were bringing to their "savage" neighbors. Unfortunately, the Indians didn't seem to be able to survive their good luck.

Greed was a force that encouraged the colonist to raise the ethnocentric barriers that allowed them to ignore the workings of Indian society. Divergent life views and styles prevented the English colonist from identifying even the most basic social institutions among Indians. Cotton Mather wrote in 1724, "One very observable quality of our Indians has always been this, that they have no family government among them..." (Axtell, 1982: 28). The Indians were considered anarchists led by Satan who had to either be destroyed or civilized. Death or a place at the lowest level of "civilized" society was the choice offered the Indians of New England by the Puritans.

Another and I think the least understood of the reasons for the "empty lands" myth, resulted from the misconceptions about the dynamics of the Indian population that they were confronting. The Indians who greeted the seventeenth century English colonist were only a shadow of their pre-Columbian selves. By 1618 the Indian population of North America had probably declined so precipitously that social and political institutions had been critically damaged or destroyed by the time English colonist had successfully settled New England. Henry F. Dobyns, noted ethnodemographer, writes, "Early

historic depopulation, and especially the apparent 95% decline in population between 1519 and 1617, created a major biological and cultural discontinuity" (Dobyns, 1983: 338).

The Indian population continued to decline after colonization. The decline would continue until the beginning of the twentieth century. The major cause of the rapid decline in the beginning was the accidental introduction of infectious diseases to the "new world" by the Europeans. Smallpox, measles, plague, influenza, and other infections simply destroyed people that had no genetic protection against them. When you add to this nightmare: severe economic disruption, slaving, increased warfare, shifts in living and subsistence patterns, and a likely general cultural depression or fatalism that followed severe outbreaks of bubonic plague in Europe, it is not difficult to realize that the English achieved their conquest largely by default.

The process by which the English colonist became Americans is closely related to the process by which they conquered America. And this brings us in contact with the modern version of the "empty land" myth. Modern American historians, like historians from other nations, carry with them a distinct bias toward their own culture. It is always difficult for any individual to accept anything that puts him or his ancestors in a bad light.

American historians have declined to accept greed and land hunger as the underlying cause for the English and American destruction of the American Indians and their culture. The modern justification has been to blame it on an accident of fate. However, ethnohistorian, Francis Jennings suggests, "Yet, paradoxically, most of the same historians, also repeat identical mythical phrases purporting that the land starved people of Europe had found magnificant opportunity to pioneer in a savage wilderness and to bring civilization to it" (Jennings, 1975: 15).

Historians still put the blame for the final destruction on bad luck. Fate simply brought a politically and technologically superior and inferior people into contact. This confrontation could have had only one ending or so it is believed. The inevitability thesis not only excuses colonist from responsibility for the destrucion of the American Indian, but it also allows the American Indian to be denied a role in the creation of the "American" culture. After all, how could an inferior group of savage tribes contribute to the creation of such a superior culture?

The important question raised by the inevitability thesis is whether or not the American Indians were truly inferior to the Europeans. The evidence that is most commonly produced to prove Indian inferiority was their apparent inability to produce societies that could support large populations. Their apparent failure to fill the potential economic niches in North America has been commonly pointed to as proof of their technological and political inferiority. Ethnohistorian Francis Jennings, accuses pioneer anthropologist, A.L. Kroeber of accepting this stance when he writes, "He (Kroeber) emphatically rejected the notion that the natives of North America could be considered capable of so ordering their societies and technologies as to increase their populations beyond a static and sparsely distributed token representation" (Jennings, 1975: 18-19).

The re-examination of archaeological and historical data has emphatically refuted Kroeber's view and badly injured or killed the inevitability thesis. Large sections of the modern United States did in fact have dense pre-Columbian populations. Ethnodemographer Henry Dobyns postulates a population of 9.8 to 12.25 million for pre-Columbian North America (Dobyns, 1983: 93). While other estimates go as high as 18

million (Dobyns, 1983: 43). These estimates are soundly based on the re-evaluation of historic, environmental, ethnographic, and archaeological data in conujunction with some well justified assumptions and formulas that allows the reasonable prediciton of population estimates for time periods lacking hard data. Highly sophisticated pre-Columbian societies have been identified throughout North America. The Mississippian, Mound Builders, Anasazi, and Hohokam cultures are perhaps the best known of the prehistoric Indian civilizations, but they are not unique in their level of developement. Recent archaeology and demographic research has forever buried the myth that labeled all Indian societies as primitive and savage.

The best proof of the weakness of the inevitability thesis is found, however, in the colonist's own descriptions of King Phillip's War (1675-76). That dreadful colonial war almost destroyed New England's thriving towns. The English militia were forced to resort to Indian tactics and use Indian warriors to crush an Indian alliance already dying of disease. Captain Church's biography describes the final stage of the tragedy with the following description of the death of one of the Indian chiefs, "The old Squaw flung a few leaves and brush over him, and came into Sandwich, and gave this account of his death (sickness) , and offered to show them where she left his body; but never had the opportunity for she immediately fell sick and dy'd also" (Slotkin and Folsom, 1978: 448). It is difficult to imagine English militiamen adopting Indian military techniques in such a desperate military situation unless they offered distinct advantages. Thomas Church writes of his father saying, "Capt. Church inquired of some of the Indians that were to become his Souldiers. How they got such advantage often of the English in their Marches thro' the Woods?" (Slotkin and Folsom, 1978: 442). The guerilla tactics used by the Indians had to be adopted by the colonial militia before they could finish a war already won for them by ravaging disease. It should be noted that the American militia would be accused by the British General Gage of using similar Indian tactics in 1775 during the Battle of Lexington and Concord.

The inevitability thesis quickly becomes untenable. So another question arises: Why did the American Indians lose control of their lands if they were not an inferior people? Ethnodemographic studies indicate that the American Indians were simply dying too fast. Earlier losses were not made up, and the direct confrontation between Indians and colonist only exacerbated the depopulation. English settlers had no way to know that the success of their conquest had been assured even before they had founded most of their settlements. They had entered an "empty house" or as Francis Jennings put it, "The American land was more like a window than a virgin" (Jennings, 1975: 30). Accusations of savagery and inferiority by colonial leaders and recent historians, aimed at the cultures of the American Indian, was probably no more savage than their rivals, the colonist.

So what was the role played by these other cultures in turning the English colonist into Americans? The role is a many-faceted one and often a confusing one. It is easier to identify in the seventeenth century, less so in the eighteenth century, and harder in the nineteenth century.

The colonist of the seventeenth century had little choice, but to adapt many fragments of Indian culture to their own. I have already mentioned the adoption of military skills and tactics. I can easily add to it the adoption of agricultural crops and techniques; hunting and trapping techniques; and buckskin clothing. What is more elusive than the

adoption of practical traits is the acceptance of Indian-like attitudes. An example is the way the Indians saw the forest as the domain of all their people not just of the elite of their society. No individual owned the forest and all members of a tribe could and did make use of its resources. In England the use of the forest was a royal or noble right controlled by a few individuals; therefore early colonists, many of whom were townsmen, really were lost in the forest.

The English colonists, however, were quick to adopt the Indian attitude toward the forest. Hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering the forest products became the rights of all colonist. They paid no one for these rights and owed no one fealty for them. Like their Indian neighbors they would "remove for their pleasures after the manner of the gentry of Civilized nations" (Axtell, 1982: 48). Hunting and the enjoyment of the forest in the "new world" were not privileges limited to the nobility. Landless or oppressed colonist quickly learned to solve their basic problems in the same way as their Indian neighbors. In order to acquire their own land or to escape religious persecution, they simply moved to the frontier and sometimes beyond. Hector de Crevecoeur described the colonist who chose to live out of the reach of the law and the church as "off-casts, impure part of society...our bad people are those who are half cultivators and half hunters" (Axtell, 1982: 283). Indian-like freedom for the colonists was only over the next hill if they chose to take that risk.

They not only adopted the military tactics of the Indians, but they also accepted the belief that military service was the duty of all free men. Like the Indian warrior, few male colonist could avoid being a part-time soldier. Military duties became a normal part of the colonial life. In 1775 the citizen militia would rally to defend their homes and land not against raiding savages, but against English soldiers. The American citizen soldier was not a phenomenon, unique to the American frontier as General Gage would soon realize in 1775. New England towns and villages supported active militias long after the frontier had moved west. They had relied upon their own militias to defend their towns during the French and Indian War. Even after the actual danger from Indians had diminished, the fear of Indians did not. The militia survived to become a center of social and political life for New England. The colonist could not rely upon the homeland for immediate military aid and had no choice but to rely upon themselves for protection as did the Indians; and just as no Indian chief or king had his own private army to support him, neither did any colonial leader have an army to support his demands against his subjects. Colonial militias instead were organized for the protection of the citizens. The colonial society was taking on the traits of a warrior society. The freedoms possessed by the Indians were not passing unnoticed by the American settlers.

Perhaps it was the way that the colonist interpreted the freedoms he saw in the Indian that most affected the futures of the New England colonist. The colonial leaders perceived the Indian society to be anarchistic and the Indians as shiftless and lazy. A warrior could often abandon his leader for another that attracted his admiration. His spouse and he could divorce without anyone's permission. Hated war captives were adopted as family members or simply tortured to death. Women worked the fields while men hunted and fished and fought (the sport and pleasure of the elite in England). Whole villages relocated on the slightest pretext (or so it seemed). The very presence of the Indians was perceived as a threat to the English normal order of life. To the colonist and

their leaders the world of the Indian seemed turned upside down. Indian leadership appeared to be at the mercy of their followers.

It is important to realize that this perception may have been inaccurate because of the limits placed upon colonial understanding by ethnocentricism, or distorted as a result of Indian social institutions being damaged or destroyed by depopulation, but the important thing is that this is how Indian society was perceived by the colonist.

One, of course, must recognize that few of the established elite of England made its way to the "new world," nor did many old world institutions, but this did not prevent colonist from seeking substitutes. The Puritan churches, large landholders, and royal officers all at one time or another tried to fulfill this need for institutions of authority. The colonists were caught between their social and political need for an established source of authority to give legitimacy to their social and political institutions and a desire to escape sources of authority that would deny them the freedoms that they had discovered in the "new world." Life in the "new world" forced the colonist to seek their own answers, and it appears that the colonial perceptions of the Indian society provided some of their answers.

I would suggest that the eighteenth century use of Indian costumes at the "Boston tea party" may have symbolized the colonial perceptions of the freedoms enjoyed by Indian society. I would further suggest that the choice of the American Eagle as the national symbol may have in part been derived from this perception. The eagle feather was a common symbol of honor among many Indian tribes, and the adoption of this symbol by the young republic may have been a signal by its founders of their admiration of the "noble savage."

The admiration of the "noble savage," of course is a direct contrast to the hatred and fear engendered in colonists and American frontiersmen by real Indians; but, as M. Kamen points out, the American Indian raised a variety of ambiguous feelings in American colonials (Kamen, 1980: 188). The admiration or jealousy of the freedoms perceived in Indian societies by colonist played a distinct role in the development of the "American" society and political structure. It will, however, take considerably more research to define that role. Historian, M. Kamen writes, "We are therefore obliged to seek some other, more complex explanation for the origins of American culture. Obviously environment cannot be discounted. It has meant much. So too have the kinds of people who came, the moment in time when they arrived, the assumptions they brought, and the process of change they underwent here" (Kamen, 1980: 23).

Past research into the origin of the "American" has ignored the role of the Indian, but the Indian was an active part of the North American environment and did play a role. The precise nature of the contributions made by the American Indian has been clouded by time and distance but I believe that the dying Indian societies of the seventeenth century provided the catalyst necessary to the forging of the unique American society. Without this catalyst the "shot heard around the world" might never have been fired.

References

Axtell, James
1982 The European and the Indian, New York, Oxford University Press.

Denevan, William M.
1976 The Native Population of the Americas in 1492, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Dobyns, Henry F.
1983 Their Number Become Thinned, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press.

Jennings, Francis
1975 The Invasion of America, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

Kamen, Michael
1980 People of Paradox, New York, Oxford University Press.

Slotkin, Richard and Folsom, James K. (eds.)
1978 So Dreadful a Judgement, Middletown, Wesleyan University Press.

A Fable: Sarah and the Swan

Stephanie Cole

Stephanie Cole

Once there was a young girl named Sarah, who lived with her old and crippled mother in a fishing village on the shores of a great sea.

Sarah's mother began to worry because Sarah would not allow any of the unmarried men of the village to pay suit to her. "Sarah," she would say, softly, reasonably. "It is time you married. It is time for you to choose a man, and for him to choose you."

But Sarah would have none of her mother's advice. Sometimes she would not answer at all, or she would laugh and run away, and the old woman would sigh with frustration. She had cared for Sarah, alone, for many years, but she feared for Sarah's future if she did not find a husband before the old woman died.

In matters other than settling on a husband Sarah was very accommodating and hard-working. Life was not easy for anyone in the little village. In the summer the men fought heavy seas for the harvest of fish to feed the village through the winter and to trade with inland villages for grains and tools of metal. In the winter raging storms would isolate the little village, and the poor villagers would huddle by their fires and weave their baskets and fish traps. Sarah's dead father had been a respected member of the village, so tradition decreed that Sarah and her mother would share in the village's bounty when the nets were full, even though the family had no man to send out with the fleet. Sarah spent much of her days as did the other women in the village. She mended the nets, and cleaned and salted the fish that the men brought in. During the long winter when the winds howled around the cluster of huts, she wove baskets while her mother drowsed by the tiny hearth fire.

Sarah was young and comely, and more than one of the men would have needed little encouragement to offer her a respectable place at a new hearth. But Sarah would not bestow her smiles on any of them. When her mother pressed her to consider one man or another, Sarah would sigh and say, "No, no, he is not right for me." When her mother would ask why, Sarah's answers were strange and the old woman did not understand them. "He sees only the fish when he looks at the sea at sunset." Sarah's mother could get no better answer from Sarah.

Except in the deep of winter, Sarah spent a part of each day away from the village, roaming the hills in search of edible roots and wild vegetables. In the height of

---

Stephanie Cole's paper was written for English 662, "Fiction Workshop," Ron Spatz, Professor, UAA Creative Writing Program.

summer there were also gooseberries to gather, and sweet red currants to uncover from the heavy foliage. Most of the women formed small groups to perform these daily chores, so that they could laugh and gossip while they filled their baskets with roots and berries. But Sarah always went out alone. She did not shirk her duty: her basket was always as full as any other, but she shunned the cheerful companionship of the other women. They were a tolerant people, and Sarah always made her contribution, so her unusual preference for solitude was not questioned.

In fact, Sarah's nimble fingers and sharp eyes allowed her to fill her basket much more quickly than could the other women. She would work in haste to complete each day's task, for she understood that her freedom from the gathering groups was dependent upon her continued provision of food. But when she was done, when her basket was full, Sarah would leave her burden in the crook of an old tree trunk until the time came when she must return to the village. Then, free at last, she would wander alone through the hills and valleys, or she would spend her stolen hours on a cliff high above the rocky coast, watching the waves crash about the angry coastline. Though the wind was always bitterly cold, she would stand still on the top of the hill and let the wind whistle around her head, tugging at her long black hair so that she could hear the whispering sounds of the restless grasses through ears that rapidly became chapped from the cruel breeze. She felt cleansed and transformed by it. Once, she even shed her clothes and lay naked on a flat rock in a quiet cove far from the village, imagining that she was one of the mermaids that the village storyteller would talk about during the long winter.

The summer of her sixteenth year, George spoke to Sarah's mother about taking Sarah for his wife.

Sarah's mother trembled with happiness when George spoke respectfully of his wishes. His wife had died the previous winter, and although she had borne him no children, he had proved to be a dependable and kind husband. His household was already established, and Sarah would have much to gain by moving to such a well-situated, comfortable hut. George even had his own fishing dory, and a shaggy, sturdy pony. George was careful to point out that there was plenty of room at his hearth for an aged parent, in addition to the children who would surely come in due course.

Sarah would not listen. As her mother spoke of George's proposal, Sarah moved to the fire and busied herself by stirring the soup. Her mother shook in anger. "No," Sarah said, "he cannot see how impossibly blue the sky is."

Sarah paced around the tiny hut. "He is too old!" she said sharply. "He has no dreams!"

"How do you know he has no dreams?" the old woman cried, raising her voice in a rare fit of will. "You have not yet even spoken to him."

Sarah turned to her mother in fury. "He sits at night with the rest of them around the fire and smokes his pipe and laughs at Leo's old jokes, or he talks on and on about where the fish will be tomorrow. He does not look at the beauty of the evening sky or wonder at the patterns the clouds make over the hills at sundown."

The old woman was dismayed at Sarah's strange words, but this time she did not give way. When Sarah ran weeping from the small hut, the old woman still wore a look of quiet determination. She had let Sarah have her strange fantasies because Sarah

had been a good, willing daughter in so many other ways, but now Sarah would accept George and leave these strange ways behind her.

Sarah did not return to the hut. She ran to the hills. It did not matter that her tears all but blinded her. The ways of the hills were worn into her heart, and she ran as if she were running home.

It was this very afternoon that she first came upon the swan. Sarah went often to the secluded pond hidden in a tiny valley surrounded by three close hills. Hardly anyone else ever went there since the valley was almost always in shadow and not much grew there that was useful to eat or weave. Even the bullrushes seemed to avoid the little pool. Only mosses and a few wild grasses grew around the tiny space.

The great white bird was motionless upon the pond as Sarah approached. She saw it as if in a dream. She had never seen a bird like it. It was white, all white, so snow white that it seemed to glisten, although no sunlight penetrated into the valley to glint off of its feathers. Its long smooth neck arched gracefully from a delicate head, with a face and beak masked as black as the body was white. It seemed unaware of her presence; it had not seen her. She sunk to the ground in a slow squat and watched the great bird in wonder. Where had it come from? She knew all the birds, from the brassy gulls to the silly trilling meadow sparrows, but she had never seen a bird like this.

She sat and watched the swan as the late afternoon waned into the evening. Occasionally, the swan would drop its elegant head into the still water to feed on submerged grasses, but mostly it just drifted, alone and beautiful. Finally, shivering and exhausted, she crept from the valley and went on her way home. "I must remember it well," she thought, "for I shall never see the likes of it again."

But she was wrong. When she returned to the pond the next day, the swan was there. And the next day, and the next day, too.

She learned no more about the swan. No one else had reported strange huge white birds in the vicinity, and she knew that the village would be buzzing with news of such sightings, had they occurred. One night she sat with one of the village elders, the one who knew the most about the animals on the coast, and cautiously asked questions about the kinds of large water birds that could be found. He mentioned many types of birds that she had never seen, but no description even approached that of the swan.

She returned to the valley whenever she could. She knew the ways of wild things, so she always approached with great care so as to prevent the swan from seeing her. She was fascinated by the bird, although it acted no differently than did the other waterfowl she knew. Perhaps it was only unusual in its seeming contentment to stay in one place, placidly and without fear. "It is so beautiful," she thought. "But it is one of a kind. How will it find a mate?" Sometimes she made up little stories about how it was a magical bird, a bird of the faeries, a bird that would somehow take her from this place.

Often these days she returned home after the sun had already set. It was not only her fascination with the swan that kept her long from home. Her mother had persisted in her insistence that Sarah allow George to call upon her and to speak of his wishes. Their evenings, which had once been full of easy harmony, were now filled with struggle. Sarah continued to resist, but the old woman was more determined as each day passed that Sarah must change her mind. The old woman would sit by the fire, holding Sarah's hands in her own. " My child," she would say, trying in vain to look into Sarah's

downcast eyes. " You must see the sense in this. You will have a husband. " Sarah would fight back the tears and would try to bite back the angry and insolent words that she knew she should not speak to the mother who had cared for her with love for so long. And late at night, with nothing resolved between them, Sarah would lie in her narrow bed and think of the swan alone in the cold darkness, its sleek head tucked under its own comforting wing as its only protection against the bitter night air.

Sarah dreaded the approach of fall. Surely the swan would depart and leave her alone. She knew her mother would finally lose all patience with her. If she refused to submit to her mother's wishes, if she refused the marriage over her mother's insistence, she would find herself an outcast in the village which formed the center of her whole world.

Almost every afternoon, after she had filled her basket, she returned anxiously to the pond. Would this be the day the swan was gone? Or would it still be there, tempting her and teasing her with its presence?

One day the winds of autumn blew particularly cold. The wind blew from the north, scattering leaves and pinching red the cheeks of the villagers. It will not be long, the villagers said among themselves that morning; it will not be long before the first snow. The women hurried from the village in the late afternoon, shawls wrapped around their heads and mittens over the hands that clasped the baskets, to find the last of the berries before the first frost. The search was difficult, for so much had been foraged already, but no one knew how long the cold winter would last and every last bit of food might be needed. It was very late when Sarah had found enough for her basket to justify her turning towards the tiny valley. " Will it still be there? " she wondered anxiously.

She was in such a hurry that she did not immediately realize that she was not alone in the valley. She had rushed in and scanned the water. Where was the swan? Oh, where was the swan? And then she saw him, the man coming in her direction from the other side of the lake. He had lowered his head against the force of the cold wind, and so he had not seen her. She could see immediately that he was not from her village. He was dressed differently, in sewn skins rather than in the homespun cloth all the men from the village wore. She knew strangers were dangerous. She did not have much time. There was a rock formation on the hill nearby with deep crevices broken vertically in the rock. She pushed herself into one of the crevices and prayed that he would not see her. She stood very still and tried to steady her nervous breathing.

The man approached rapidly. She was sure that he would pass right by her. She could see that he was a young man, but with a strangely set face that made him look old beyond his years. It was as if he had seen many grevious things in his life, many awful things, and his face remembered them. When he came close to her, he did not pass, but rather he drew close to the pond. He shrugged a heavy brown bag from his shoulders and sat down as if to rest.

After a few moments, he opened the bag and emptied its contents onto the mossy shore. It was the swan.

It was the swan.

Sarah pressed her hand into her mouth so as not to cry out. The swan, its white breast stained with its own red blood where the man's weapon had hit the mark. The swan, in an awkward heap about the feet of the fearsome young man.

He squatted down and began to pluck the feathers from the swan. She closed her eyes and tried not to watch, but consciousness of her own danger forced her eyes open. He casually and efficiently plucked the bird, scattering the delicate white feathers carelessly into the wind. Some flew into the tiny pond; an eddy of wind brought a delicate breast feather close to where Sarah remained hidden, where it caught on the end of a bare bough and danced in the breeze. He pulled out and looked at some of the magnificent wing feathers. These he put to one side under his pack so that they wouldn't blow away. He pulled out a large hunting knife and gutted the great carcass with horrible precision. the bird's intestines spilled red onto the green moss.

After the bird had been prepared, he reached into his pack and pulled out a flintbox. Using his body to block the force of the wind, he made a small fire from the twigs and dried moss he had found by the pond. He added larger pieces of wood to this small blaze, once gathering one piece perilously close to where Sarah stood hidden, her hand still pressed into her clenched mouth.

The man carved a drumstick from the great bird's carcass, which now looked no different from the carcasses of the large geese which passed through the region each year. He stuck a stick through the flesh and began to roast it over the fire.

The scent of the roasting flesh drifted into Sarah's hiding place. She was tired and cold, and she hadn't eaten since breakfast. The scent was delicious .

Sarah's empty stomach growled. Not loud enough to alert the man, but loud enough so that Sarah knew—Sarah knew and could feel the hunger within her.

Sarah returned home late after dark. She had had to wait a long time for the man to finish his dinner and move on. It had been almost fully dark before she had been able to leave the desecrated valley, wandering through the twilight like a sick person.

Although the old woman had been terribly worried, she did not press Sarah about why she was so late. She fussed over Sarah's cold hand, and brought a mug of fish broth to her as she sat motionless by the fire. Sarah watched the embers glow as the cold night breeze blew down the chimney to invade the tiny hut. The scented steam from the pot of simmering soup laced the air. Sarah drank.

The old woman fiddled with some bone beads while she waited for Sarah to finish the soup. There were important things to discuss now that Sarah was safe at home.

" Now, Sarah, " she began, " George came again today to talk with me. I've arranged to— "

" Mother. " Sarah's sad voice cut in. " I will have him. "

And as she spoke, Sarah put the empty mug down at the hearth and looked straight up into her mother's eyes, dimly seeing her uneven reflection, like the patterning of white feathers on black water.

Second Nature
A Collection of Landscape Sculpture

Noelle Williams

Abstract

The use of the landscape as the artists' medium pre-dates history; however, its acceptance as a media for Fine Art has not been popular until this century. The works in 'Second Nature' incorporate the philosophies of the recent evolution in Earth Works with the sensibilities of the artists involved: Laurie Burner, Theresa Gibbs, Raymond Giblin, Joe Hamilton, Richard Marson, Jann Nunn, Lora Powell, Pearl Turney, and Noelle Williams. The intent of the artists was to create sculptures which activate the landscape through sensitive manipulation and interaction with the land and reflect their respect for Alaska's natural landscape. 'Second Nature' is a collection of documentation and artists' statements concerning a body of sculptural works created between January and April of 1988 in Anchorage, Alaska. The bright future of landscape art works has inspired sculptors such as Udo Kultermann in 1967 to exclaim, "Sculpture is on the way to discovering our environment, and disclosing hidden elements in it" (Kultermann 1967: 34). As part of that bright future, the sculpture in 'Second Nature' certainly reveals hidden elements in our Alaskan landscape. "I was never out to destroy the gallery system or the esthetic object...I wasn't trying to make impermanent works -- I was just doing the best I could with the tools I could afford" (Heizer in Beardsley, 1977: 10).

In January of 1988, several young Anchorage artists set out to engage the landscape in works of outdoor sculpture. Like Heizer, they used the tools available to them to manipulate the landscape and create site specific works of art. Unlike Heizer, whose techniques included cutting 30 feet wide by 50 feet deep chasms into the surface of the Mormon Mesa in Nevada, these artists chose to interact and communicate with the land and the materials of the land through sensitive reordering of nature. They shared the challenge of exploring new materials in collaboration with the natural environment to produce works of art which affirm a respect for the ecology of this pristine land.

The depiction of the landscape through two dimensional works of art has been well documented since the era of Minoan and Egyptian frescoes; however, the landscape itself was used in three dimensional works by prehistoric civilizations. Monumental stones stand in various geometric patterns in many areas of England such as Stonehenge

Noelle Williams' paper was completed for Art 311 and 411, "Intermediate and Advanced Sculpture," Ken Gray, Professor/Sculptor, UAA Art Department.

and Avebury which date back to 2000 to 3000 B.C. The Serpent Mound in Adams County, Ohio was constructed from sod, colored clays and stone by civilizations which date back to 1000 B.C. to 700 A.D. Such sculptural sites have continued to impress successive cultures with their positive and integrating character; however, these sculptures had been considered only as archaeological remains or monuments until this century when they were given a more artistic scrutiny.

The history of contemporary landscape art started at the turn of the century. The concept of improving on nature was taken only so far as finding a public place and erecting a monument which dominated its surroundings. The demand for war memorials naturally increased in Britain following the Great War but were executed by architects rather than sculptors (Briggs, 1984:16). During the Thirties a 'Modernist' movement caught up a group of painters, sculptors, designers and architects who banded together to form a group called "Unit One" (Briggs, 1984: 18). The members of this British avant-garde group, according to Lewis Briggs: "extended their attitude towards space so as to include the idea of landscape and the environment" (Briggs, 1984: 18). The infusion of ideas from the Russian Constructivists using space as sculpture, kinetic sculptures utilizing time and mobility, and French Abstraction-Creation resulted in a movement of the subject of their art form figuration to abstraction. Some members such as Paul Nash and Henry Moore began to depict and define the space in which the subject was situated (Briggs, 1984: 18-20). Places, such as Stonehenge and Avebury, not just objects, were considered sculptural.

During the 60's and 70's, the concept of landscape as sculptural evolved into the Earth Works movement in the North American avant-garde. Many of the artists rebelling against political, institutional and esthetic tradition found in the landscape the antithesis of the gallery setting with its finite sterility and market-orientation. For others landscape works represented a reintegration of human civilization with nature.

Historically, the Human-Nature interaction has been viewed in one of three ways: Nature as the antithesis of human culture; Nature as subservient to human exploitation; Nature as an equal partner in a dynamic relationship with human culture (Reason, 1987: 25-26). The first viewpoint defined nature with terms such as "unspoiled", "wilderness" or "remote" - nature as a hostile force which dominated human endeavor. Such was surely the case for the earliest human ancestors. In the second case, nature was a realm to be shaped and marketed through human domination. Modern human civilization, with its global pollution, marginalization of the land, and depletion of resources, typifies this viewpoint. The third view has identified nature with human culture in a synergistic and symbiotic relationship. It was this orientation to nature that inspired the artists in 'Second Nature."

The intention of the artists in 'Second Nature' was to activate the Alaskan landscape in local rural settings through sensitive manipulation of the materials of the land. Activation of the landscape implied that the works must be site specific - the sculptures enhanced the setting and the setting revealed the sculptures. By limiting the scope of the projects to local areas, public viewing and interaction was possible. To preserve the pristine quality of the land, the sculptures evolved through careful reordering or craftsmanship - no power tools were used, no living trees cut down, the ground was not rent by great chasms. Through the use of only natural materials, the artists dealt with both the constructive and destructive aspects of nature as the sculptures would

eventually change and disintegrate. The inevitability of decay made it necessary for the artists to record and document their work through photographs and other two dimensional representations. The unique approach of each artist's interpretation and expression of the human-nature integration was revealed through this collection of documentation.

Site specificity provided a focused experience of place for most of the artists. For some, the artist visualized the sculpture and the appropriate setting. Pearline M. Turney said of her work: "In my mind I see spiral shaped cones, tree-like forms, in a large open area." Others, like Noelle Williams, decided upon a form only after investigating a likely site. In writing about "Balance at Equinox," shown in figure 1: "My work took the form of a sculptural platform atop a hill I had chosen...with reference to sunrise and sunset." Lora Powell arrived at her form of expression after intense, spiritual experience in a landscape she chose for its suitability to her theme of renewal:

> My projects evolved in the mud flats along the inlet... being a part of the rapid transformation of spring breakup is exciting...much of my work is intuitive, letting the site dictate the design.

In selecting a site, the artists considered public accessibility. Most of the artists chose sites adjacent to popular city trails or parks to enhance viewer interaction. For Joe Hamilton, the choice of Goose Lake, a popular area for skiing, skating and jogging, was consistent with his theme in "The Trees Take a Hike," shown in figure 2, Joe states:

> The idea stems from my desire for others to make the conscious effort to get out and explore our environment. I turned to my oldest friend, 'Nature'."I've brought her out of the woods and into the light for all to see.

Noelle Williams chose her sites to be within sight of the popular trails in Goose Lake Park. Lora Powell chose areas within sight of the Coastal Trail, and received, perhaps, the most attention from the public as well as the concern of Anchorage's emergency rescue officials!

After selecting the site, the artists planned their sculptures. Lucy L. Lippard contends: "One of art's functions is to recall that which is absent - history, the unconscious, form, or social justice" (Lippard, 1983: 4).

History, or rather Prehistory, were found in the works of Noelle Williams, Ray Giblin and Lora Powell. These artists consciously chose primitive symbols and rituals as their expression. The primal images arose from each artist's own needs, weaving historical and biological memory together.

Noelle Williams combined archaic symbols and ritualized performance to express her concept of Balance and Invocation which is shown in figure 1. She states:

> "I strive to evoke the re-establishment of Balance within the natural

setting and, ultimately, within ourselves. The sculpture resembled two curving horns framed within the surrounding trees...the horns have been used to symbolize the raised arms of invocation and the fertile thighs of the goddesses from the Palace of Knossos in Crete, the Mesopotamian temples at Catal Huyuk, and more recently in Mary Beth Edelsen's installations."

Through a ritual performance, Williams used the concept of balance between contrasts, as she states:

"At the moment of sunset, on the Vernal Equinox, I used the energy of the Balance of day and night...I covered my body in white powder and half in black powder...my body became the final collaboration with nature."

Lora Powell chose symbols which have been used to represent the female deities in ancient civilizations. Her work on the mud flats of Cook Inlet consisted of a cup and ring pattern carved in the ice and of its history she states:

"...was widespread on stone walls all over the world. It has been interpreted by archaeologists to represent the Great Mother goddess."

Of another ice carving ritual she writes:

"...involved the carving of a flame shape into an ice form naturally shaped like a flame and the lighting of a fire within the carved shape. Through the use of fire, the originally carved flame shape was transformed into a shape reminiscent of an ancient goddess form...a bird woman, seen in Egyptian female figures from the fourth millennium B.C."

Powell's ritualistic use of fire represents personal symbolism for:

"...the creative force in all of us. Fire is used ritualistically to represent letting go of the old and making way for the new...the contrast between fire and ice are important symbols...we need the fire of creativity to effect the 'melting', the flow of change - each is entropy without the other and together, life happens."

Ray Giblin was concerned with the concept of Balance and Transference. Of

Figure 1

his work, Giblin states:

> Through the use of primitive and simplistic symbols and rituals I have tried to express the bond which exists between...the spiritual and material worlds. This balance also represents the gray area that exists between good and evil, or black and white...I have tried to symbolize the transference, junctions , combinations, and balance which exists between these energy sources.

The subconscious mind was the concern of artists including Laurie Burner and Jann Nunn. These artists used personal metaphors to engage the environment in the eternal questions of human existence, purpose and significance in nature. The intent of such works was to touch the viewer on the subconscious level.

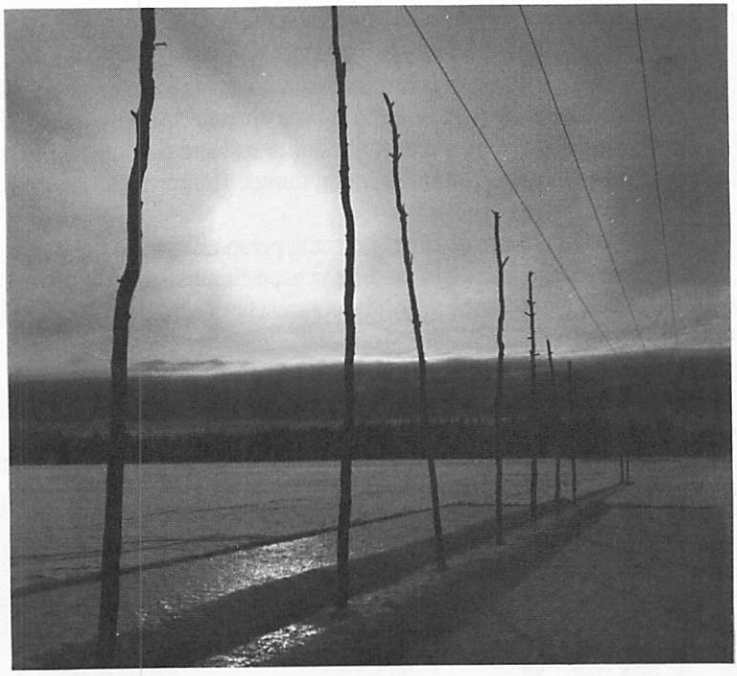


Figure 2

Laurie Burner's work with clay and ice was concerned with, as she puts it:

> "...decision to explore the true nature of life on earth and our relative stance in the universe. The Greater Purpose of my life is to find who I am. The Greater Purpose of mankind is to become Whole. Thus, the artwork I present is a reflection of these Greater Wholes; from the microcosm of my creative efforts to the macrocosm of the human expression...My work becomes for the viewer an entrance on the viewer's personal spiritual path...an opening...to the act of going within...to the beauty of our true nature...and thus, a journey.

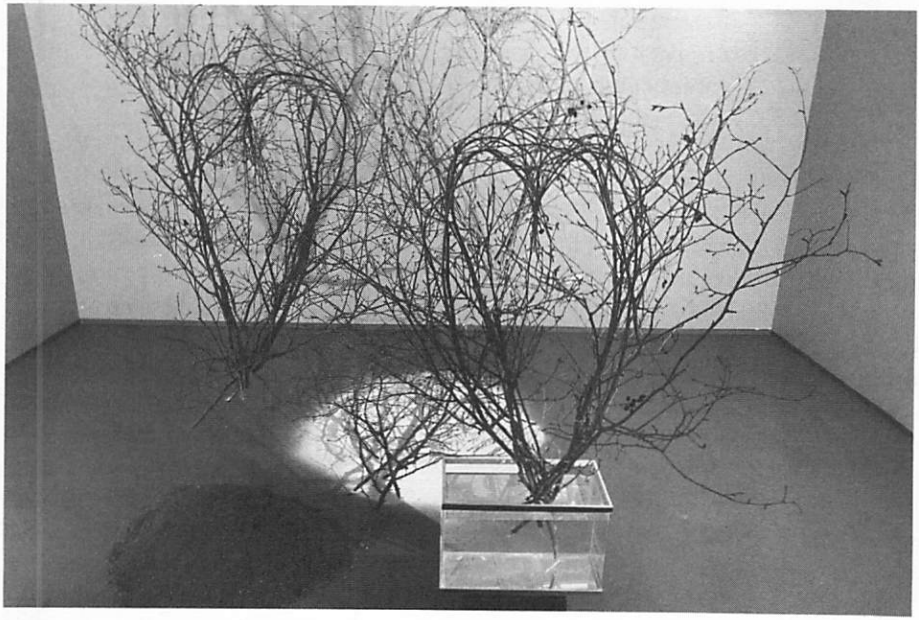


Figure 3

Jann Nunn's work outdoors used tree branches to encase a nude female figure curled in the fetal position, like an egg in the snow. In figure 3, her work in an indoor gallery installation for 'Second Nature' shows her use of alder branches, earth, fire, air and water. Of her work, Nunn writes:

"In nature we are but an insignificant element."

Landscape manipulation has frequently been concerned with defining form. Sometimes the forms were overtly sculptural, but often the artist has been influenced by the Constructivist approach and defined space by enclosing space. In 'Second Nature,' those artists who expressed an interpretation of space in nature were Richard Marson, Pearline Turney, Joe Hamilton and Theresa Gibbs. Marson and Turney carved form out of the elements of the landscape, while Gibbs and Hamilton delineated volume through a spatial re-ordering of the environmental elements.

Marson's carving in a dead tree trunk is shown on the cover of this journal. Marson realized in the landscape the human body and says of his work that it is concerned with:

> ...the relationships between forms found in nature and the contours of the human body...the earliest known art piece was the Venus of Willindorf, predating 25,000 B.C. It is thought to have originally been a rock with the natural features of the female figure. Through sculpting, the artist completed what nature had already started. I too desired to bring out and develop forms I saw in nature...bring out images locked in the materials...to work the materials on the location.

Turney's use of snow as a carved medium was consistent with her use of the strong, primal symbolism of the spiral. Turney states:

> "The spiral was a dynamic and basic shape found in nature. It was an elegant form with balance and rhythm, implied motion, and peace. A group of three cone-shaped forms was like an interdependant family. It was stable and unified."

The spiral has been utilized in works such as Robert Smithson's 1970 earth work project 'Spiral Jetty,' a black basalt and limestone jetty which spiraled 1500 feet out onto the Great Salt Lake in Utah and is now underwater. Turney's work, shown in figure 4, shows the reference of the transient and irreversible quality of the form to the ephemeral quality of the materials.

Theresa Gibbs arranged fragments of twigs like a ladder between the v-shaped branching of living trees, as shown in figure 5. The use of negative spaces in nature to delineate form has occurred in land projects such as Heizer's 'Double Negative,' mentioned earlier. In contrast Gibbs work, 'Facets Exposed,' was on a more intimate scale and was less destructive than 'Double Negative.' Gibbs further explains:

"It shows one of my experiments with a somewhat common shape that one may notice among trees. This attempt to isolate and acknowledge the negative space of the tree was achieved by using a woven sheet of twigs...I am investigating the negative shapes formed within the branches and am attempting to emphasize the geometry of these voids. Not only do the sheets of twigs expose different facets of a tree, they also provide us with a high visual contrast between the (linear) organization of the twigs and the neutral randomness of the tree branches."

In figure 2, Joe Hamilton's work on the frozen surface of Goose lake, Anchorage, arose from his desire, as he puts it:

Figure 4

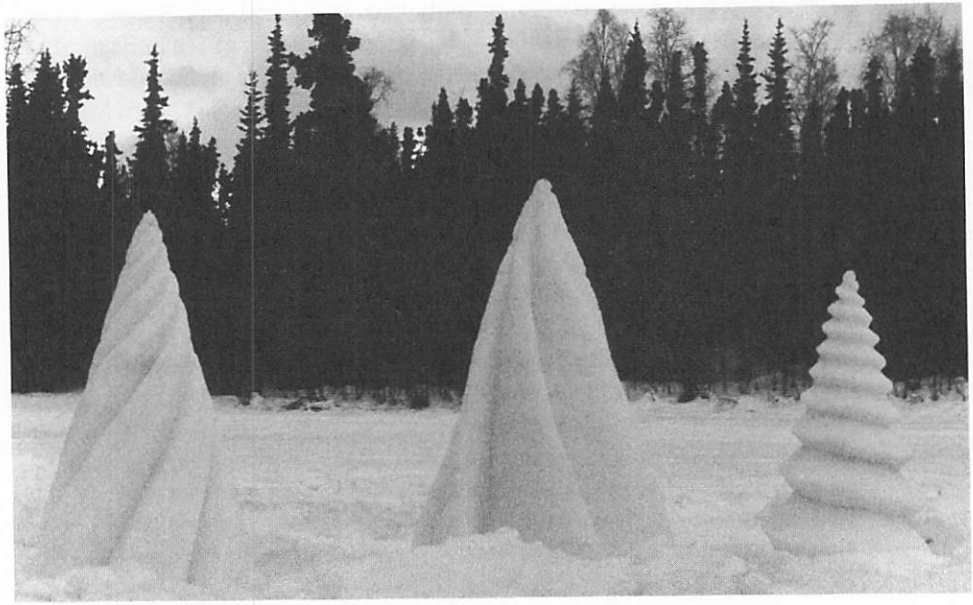


Figure 5

...to see the natural world as a starting point to be used to develop a new order or arrangement of those elements, to create a perspective or a new insight into the environment...My relationship with the land was still of the explorer, climber and backpacker. My wish was for others to see nature in its purest forms, untouched by man...It soon became clear to me how difficult it was to entice my friends into joining me

breakup, while Giblin and Powell's work would disappear within 24 hours, with the tide. The beauty of the impermanent nature of the materials was that it encouraged spontaneous expression from the artists.

In keeping with the theme of sensitive intervention, the artists chose a minimal use of tools. The interpretation of "minimal" ranged from the extreme in the works of Giblin and Powell, who arranged snow and ice by hand, Nunn and Gibbs who bound twigs and branches, Hamilton who carved wood, and Williams who sized, notched and fitted dead wood. The result of their commintment to sensitivity was sculpture which interacted positively with the environment. Michael Heizer could have been talking about 'Second Nature' when he stated: "In many cases, it is difficult to determine where the works end and the landscape begins" (Beardsley, 1977: 25).

> in my environmental quests. I needed a guide or path that would lead them into this world I have enjoyed for so long. 'The Trees Take a Hike' was a beckoning from mother earth herself for us to take a good look around us, to appreciate, to enjoy and preserve what we have.

The last consideration of the landscape sculptures in 'Second Nature' was for the preservation of the ecology and pristine quality of the land. The materials were all natural and so the works were ephemeral, some decaying and changing over time such as the works of Gibbs, Williams, Marson and Nunn. Others began to decay immediately, such as Turney's snow sculptures, melting in the sun. In the case of Powell's works, the materials disintegrated as a result of ritual. Hamilton's work was ordained to disappear at spring

References

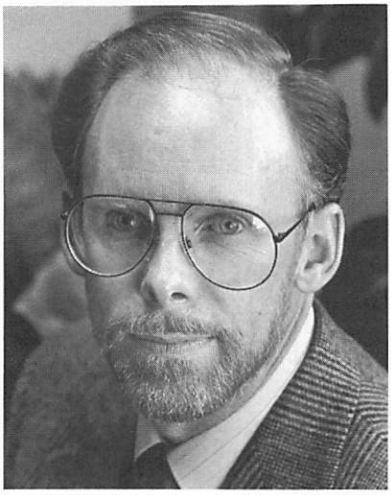
Beardsley, John
1977 Probing the Earth: Contemporary Land Projects. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press.

Briggs, Lewis
1984 "Open Air Sculpture in Britain: Twentieth Century Developments", editied by Peter Davies and Tony Knipe, A Sense of Place: Sculpture in Landscape. Sunderland, U.K.: Geolfrith Gallery Press.

Kultermann, Udo
1967 London: The New Sculpture.

Myth and Symbol in Alaska's Political Culture: State Development Problems and Policies

Gary Williams



Gary Williams

Abstract

This paper discusses the role of myth and symbol in the formation of political culture in Alaska. Using two events in Alaska's recent history as illustrations, it examines some of the ways in which the definition of policy problems and alternative solutions become constricted by emotionally charged connotations generated by myth and symbol.

Introduction and Purpose

Public policies flow from the interplay of political forces in society (Lindbloom, 1980: 27) and the policies that emerge from this interplay reflect the attitudes and opinions of society's members (Brewer and deLeon, 1983). Further, these attitudes and opinions are formed, in part, out of the fabric of society's myth structure. Thus, myth and symbol may play a key role in shaping public policies.

Political scientists Gary Brewer and Peter deLeon describe the influence of myth and symbol in the policy process saying:

> Opinions contribute to the general climate or mood of public policy in ways that relate to preferences about the distribution and enjoyment of all human values...Past experiences influence these preferences and the symbol systems and myths to which various segments of the public respond. Taken altogether, they provide the emotional basis for politics and policy (Brewer and deLeon, 1983: 220).

Brewer and deLeon go on to state that when attempting to understand the most basic elements of human intentionality with respect to policy preferences, we must give the role of myth and symbol in our society equal weight with "detailed specification of intentions" as we assess the underlying factors which create and maintain "an emotional

---

Gary Williams' paper was completed for Public Administration 606, "Public Administration," Thomas Morehouse, Professor, UAA School of Business.

consensus upon which political order depends" (Brewer and deLeon, 1983).

The role of myths in the political process has an even more practical consequence:

> No power of major proportions can effectively be exercised over a prolonged period of time without an array of myths to sustain it. Regulations and laws are largely the critical outcroppings of accepted myths (Brewer and deLeon, 1983: 220).

This paper contends essentially that we can better understand the political possibilities and constraints policymakers face in Alaska if we examine some of our deeply held beliefs, myths, and symbols. We focus this study of myth and symbol on the processes of problem definition and the generation of alternatives. Accordingly, we should state what we mean by myth in the context of Alaska policymaking and how we define "problem definition" and "generation of alternatives."

Myths in this context are something more specific than the allegorical tales of Greek mythology and yet broader than beliefs held individually. The renowned expert on world mythologies, Joseph Campbell, does not specifically define the word myth, but it can be inferred from his writing that he considers myth to be an outgrowth of fundamental values and beliefs in a society (Campbell, 1972: 11-13). Values and belief systems help form the political culture of a society (McBeath and Morehouse, 1987: 53). Myths, therefore, help form our political culture.

Political Scientist Gerald A. McBeath offers a simplified definition of political culture:

> ...one can say that political culture refers to the core beliefs, values and attitudes people have about why the state does what it does.." (McBeath and Morehouse, 1987: 53).

Based on the foregoing we can suggest that the range of political possibilities available to decision makers is bounded by political culture and myth, and that these constrain problem definitions and possible alternatives.

By "problem" we mean a disturbance or condition which our political system recognizes and takes action to ameliorate. The process of "problem definition" involves interpreting a condition in terms of the values and ideologies prevalent in a society. In our society a problem might be a perceived inequity in providing social welfare benefits to one ethnic group compared to another. The definition would follow with a description of the inequity and the values at stake in resolving the issue.

"Generation of alternatives" refers to the range of choices available to policymakers in solving defined problems. As indicated, we are concerned with forces in the political culture of Alaska that influence the range of alternatives available for consideration by policymakers.

In order to explain how myth and symbol influence policy in Alaska, we must review how Alaska's modern political culture has evolved.

Background of Alaska's Political Culture

Purchased from Russia in 1867 for reasons that are more geopolitical than economic, Alaska became a colony of the United States. Its marine-rich coastal waters had been exploited to the near extinction of fur seals and sea otters; little was known about the potential of the natural resource base. Development that did take place in Alaska was the result of U.S. fish processors harvesting the huge runs of salmon in the territory and the short-lived gold rush and copper mining that occurred at the turn of the century (Morehouse, 1984: 24-27). When the fisheries declined and the minerals played out, fishermen and miners pulled up stakes and went home, leaving little but the rusting evidence of their exploitation.

What little resource development the federal government tried to encourage, such as the extraction of coal from the southcentral region of Alaska, came to nothing but an expensive railroad system that was a drain on the U.S. Treasury.

The federal government, in 1937, apparently adopting the finding of Natural Resources Committee of the U.S. Congress, concluded that there should be no"forced development" of Alaska, that the notion that the region was a vast storehouse of "easily attainable wealth" was myth, and that the territory should be opened no faster than economics would allow (Kresge, Morehouse, and Rogers, 1974: 34). While the Federal Homestead act of 1861 and the Mining Law of 1872 were extended to Alaska making it possible for citizens to patent land for agricultural and mining uses, according to Geographer Richard Cooley in the book Alaska Resources Development: Issues of the 1980s:

> Very little land was actually transferred into private ownership under terms of these acts. The great distances of Alaska and its harsh climate and rugged terrain kept development to a minimum, except during the occasional gold mining booms and in the growing salmon fishery and neither of these developments required large acreages. Further, the prevailing opinion among government officials was that only areas with potential for major agricultural export could support American settlement and Alaska was not such a place. (Morehouse,1984: 14).

Cooley adds that during this period the federal government had adopted the policy of withdrawing land for wilderness designation in reaction to the depletion of wildlife and forests that resulted from the settlement of the American West.

Additional federal withdrawals occurred in regions of Alaska that were of great scenic beauty such as Glacier Bay, Katmai, and Mt. McKinley and others with great economic potential such as the Tongass Forest—all of which amounted to nearly a quarter of the entire territory of Alaska.

It is against this backdrop of federal control, federal preservationism and the refusal of the federal government to take an active role in the development of Alaska, that Alaska's modern political culture was formed.

The Political Mythology of Alaska's Development

What has emerged from the "Colonial period" of Alaska's development, briefly described above, is what George Rogers calls a "mystique" regarding resource development, a mystique that presents barriers to the clear, rational consideration of current development problems. (Rogers, 1962: 267).

The political mystique Rogers identifies is embodied in the notion that pioneering efforts of Americans in Alaska were restrained by restrictive federal policies. While it is true, as we have seen, that the federal government was not disposed to promote the settlement and the development of Alaska, it appears that this was not determinative of whether settlement and resource development would occur. Nonetheless, when development was not forthcoming or when development occurred in a way that was not to the liking of Alaskans (such as the harvest of fisheries by absentee corporations), the federal government was blamed for these failures and distortions of development. This perception of federal opposition to Alaska's development was exploited by the territory's political leadership. Notable among those leaders was Governor Ernest Gruening, who contended that Alaska's colonial status under federal domination was the root cause of economic stagnation (Rogers, 1962: 169). Another was Robert Atwood, the publisher of Alaska's largest newspaper at the time, who often railed editorially at federal domination of Alaska and at conservationist's efforts to place land in trust. Atwood accused both forces of working to "lock up" the state. Gruening and Atwood were prominent among those who carried the banner for Alaska statehood and demanded the release of Alaska from federal domination.

Another important element in the development of the "mystique" of Alaska's development was the background of those who came to settle the new frontier. According to Rogers, they were emigrants from the "mother country" (the 48 states) who had "tasted the fruits of western democracy" and, having moved to a region without state's rights, had suddenly become second class citizens of the nation. The inability of the new populace to achieve the level of economic prosperity they left behind or dreamed they would find in Alaska, became a primary motivation in the desire of the territory's new residents to seek political and economic self- determination through statehood (Rogers, 1962: 169-71).

According to Political Scientist Gordon Harrison, the statehood movement itself contributed to expansion of the "folklore" of Alaska's development:

> While many people supported statehood for idealistic reasons of democratic self-expression and political self-determination, important elements of Alaskan society regarded it as a means of acquiring a classic economic system of laissez faire which would, in Alaska at least, counteract the deleterious effects of governmental intervention and interference...this thinking reinforced the mystique of Alaska as the last Frontier" where "pioneers hewed homes from the wilderness...(Harrison, 1971: 9).

Harrison debunks the beliefs that federal control was a hindrance to progress in Alaska, a belief that is still held by many Alaskans:

> It is now apparent, for example, that federal land laws have had only a peripheral relationship to the main forces of settlement and development in Alaska. Where mineral wealth had existed in commercial quantity it has been exploited—as was gold and copper, and now oil—and where agriculture is commercially feasible farming has come into existence—as in the Matanuska Valley. With the possible exception of coal in 1914, the utilization of neither commercially valuable mineral deposits nor commercially attractive farm lands has been prevented by overly restrictive land laws, federal or state. (Harrison, 1971: 10)

Contradicting popular belief that the federal government and conservationists have "locked up" Alaska and thwarted economic development is the fact that a large percentage of all federal land in Alaska is open to commercial uses: 50 per cent of all federal land is open to mining, and 75 per cent is open to uses other than mining or settlement. Almost 60 per cent of all of the land in Alaska is open to all forms of resource development (Morehouse, 1984: 36).

The existence of an anti-development mythology symbolically embodied in the federal government and conservationists, has created a divided political culture with development interests on one side and virtually everyone who shares a different view toward development on the other. Rogers contends that this heritage "hinders realistic approaches" to our problems because it "has created inflexibilities of attitudes and in the means for taking action" (Rogers, 1962:269).

Policy Constraints in Alaska's Political Culture

Having reviewed the context of Alaska's political culture, we can now consider how problems and alternatives are influenced by myths and symbols that are a part of that culture.

Earlier we described the influence of certain political and media leaders as they influenced and reflected public opinion regarding the effect of federal policy on Alaska's settlement and development. We quoted authors Brewer and deLeon regarding the influence of opinion on politics and policy and learned that opinion may reflect the emotional basis of policy. We can take that theme a step further and suggest that opinion, reflecting the mood and preferences of a society, acts upon the policy process to "delimit the scope and range of political possibilities" (Brewer and deLeon, 1983: 220). This effect is easily seen in the battle over Alaska's national interest lands.

The "National Interest Lands" Controversy"

An example of how the policy process is bounded by deeply held opinion in our society is the "national interest lands" controversy. Richard A. Cooley describes the historical background of this major reservation of public lands in Alaska for conserva-

tion purposes, saying:

> "...national lands disposal policies had indeed speeded settlement and development [of the West] but they also resulted in land frauds, speculation, corrupt administration, monopoly and the brutal waste of natural resources. Such abuse was the genesis of the conservation movement in the United States which grew to a national political cause the beginning of the twentieth century..." (Morehouse,1984: 13).

Although there had been federal withdrawals in the past, "national interest lands," as they came to be called, represented a massive partitioning of Alaska that pitted development interests against conservationists. In the process of dividing the public domain, federal agencies with responsibilities for land management entered the competition as did national and state environmental interest groups and state and national development interests. Environmental interests saw a window of opportunity to pursue perhaps the most important land conservation program in the nation's history. Development interests saw this effort as the final "lock-up" of the nation's greatest storehouse of natural resources (Morehouse, 1984: 25).

The battle was an expensive confrontation fought in the national media and finally in the halls of congress. In the end, compromise legislation accomplished the withdrawal of more than 100 million acres of land in Alaska, but provided for multiple use of most of the land. Yet, the debate about how to implement the legislation, given the bureaucratic management regime the legislation mandated, will no doubt continue to be acrimonious between development and conservation interests.

In the context of this debate between development and conservation interests, it should be noted that important facts about Alaska land and its value were either ignored or denied. Consequently, the very definition of the development-preservation problem was distorted. The mythology of federal and conservationist domination of Alaska lands policy has preoccupied the minds of development interests for a long time. On the other side was the equally powerful notion that development interests would despoil the land with "rip and run" exploitation. The result, according to Cooley, was that a more significant issue was eclipsed:

> ""The controversy over resource development...ignores economic realities[:]...a comparatively modest inherent resource endowment... and extremely high costs of operation...Ignoring these fundamental determinants can only lead to needless turmoil, false debate and oversimplified responses..." (1984: 46).

While we cannot say specifically what would have to occur to refocus the debate on the more salient issues Cooley raises, we can suggest that until a refocusing occurs, long held myths and symbols of federal land tenure in Alaska will continue to drive the debate along traditional paths.

The Statehood Movement

The statehood movement in Alaska provides another illustration of the way in

which myth and symbol have acted to influence problem definition and alternative policies. Those who felt that restrictive federal land use controls and the perceived colonial attitude of the federal government constrained development in Alaska were the vanguard of the movement. The movement found strong support among the residents of the territory, most of whom came from the 48 states and wanted to regain lost political status and rights. But, in part because of the rhetoric of politicians and editorializing by the press, the arguments for statehood emphasized "developmental cliches" rather than the merits of the issue and the ability of the proposed state to support the responsibility of statehood. Rogers notes:

> "The statehood movement provided a focus for a host of attitudes and development cliches which grew out of territorialism on the political level and colonialism on the economic level. The resulting state of mind was typically one which looked upon economic development as essentially political in nature requiring only changes and manipulations in the forms of institutions..." (Rogers, 1962:146-47).

The state of mind prevalent among Alaskans in the quest for statehood made the movement "invulnerable to rational analysis and criticism." Because the strongest negative reaction to statehood came from non-resident business interests, those who questioned statehood were labeled as "un-Alaskan" (Rogers, 1962: 282-83).

As in the case of the battle over the national interest lands, the symbols of an overbearing federal government, colonialism, absentee business interests—and the resultant state of mind among Alaskans—removed the issue from rational debate over more tangible economic problems. As a direct result the discussion of alternative solutions to the problems was similarly limited. The problem as then defined was: Alaska has not developed as quickly as Alaskans would have liked. The single alternative available for discussion was to throw off territorial status and assume the mantle of statehood and self-determination. Rational analysis of the problem would have yielded the conclusion that there was no sustaining enterprise the state could rely on for the generation of the tax revenue needed to provide people what they wanted in public services and government generated jobs and incomes. What statehood would generate, had analysis been seriously undertaken, was that a large and costly superstructure of government would be necessary to implement statehood (Rogers, 1962: 282-83).

Fortunately for the new state, the federal government provided important financial assistance in the early years—particularly in response to the disastrous 1964 earthquake—and the Prudhoe Bay bonanza was discovered before the first decade of statehood was completed. We might think of these as accidents and unpredictable events that lay the groundwork for yet another set of symbols and myths about Alaska's development. These might be summarized in the notion that, "no matter what, something big will happen, and it will rescue us from economic peril."

Conclusion

We have described the role of myth and symbol as elements of political culture and have pointed out that the range of political options available to decision makers is bounded by the emotional consensus grounded in the political culture. The controversy over the "national interest" lands in Alaska and the statehood movement show how myth and symbol become powerful forces in shaping and focusing public opinion. Myths and symbols in the policymaking process constrain both problem definition and the specification of alternatives.

In the case of the "national interest," lands controversy, myth and symbol were particularly influential in shaping public opinion and defining the problem. Here the issue was: Which lands in the federal ownership should be protected for their conservation and wilderness values? But conservation and preservation of lands in the Alaska political culture carry charged connotations based on symbols. To the developer, both conservation and preservation symbolize government constraints on free enterprise. To others preservation represents the highest ideal of no development. From the developers' view point the question was: how much land would be protected from federal withdrawal and, if withdrawn, how could the fullest of permitted uses be maintained? From the preservationists' point to view the question was: how much land could be fully protected from developers? Had those who framed these issues been more aware of the symbolic dimensions, perhaps the controversy would have been less acrimonious, and a greater range of alternatives might have been considered.

Myth and symbol can place especially severe limitations on the specification of alternatives. In the case of the statehood movement the problem of how to spur development and settlement in Alaska would seem to present a multitude of possible alternatives. In the end, however, public opinion focused on only one alternative, statehood, which was at best a partial answer to the problem of Alaska development. This should caution those involved in the policy process to beware of incomplete or constricted definitions of problems and the related consequence: limited alternatives.

References

Brewer, and deLeon
1983 The Foundations of Policy Analysis. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.

Campbell, J.
1972 Myths to Live By. New York: Viking Press.

Harrison, G.
1971 "The Folklore of Alaska's Development." (Unpublished paper).

Kingdon, J. W.
1984 Agendas Alternatives and Public Policies. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Kresge, D.T., Morehouse, T. and Rogers, G.W.
1977 Issues in Alaska Development. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Lindblom, E.
1980 The Policy-Making Process. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

McBeath, G.A. and Morehouse, T.A.
1987 Alaska State Government Politics. Fairbanks: University of Alaska.

Morehouse, T. (Ed.)
1984 Alaska Resources Development: Issues of the 1980s. Boulder: Westview Press.

Rogers, G.W.
1962 The Future of Alaska. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

George F. Kennan and the Development of United States Containment Policy, 1945-1947

Andrew E. Ruby

In the critical period immediately following World War II, George F. Kennan was one of the first informed persons in government service to argue, often plead, that the United States adopt a policy of containment towards the Soviet Union. As a member of the American Embassy in Moscow throughout the war, Kennan believed, with good reason, that he was among the few who comprehended the reality of what the aftermath of total war would bring, especially in devastated Europe. At stake, Kennan argued, was the type of social and political constitutions that would emerge from the destruction of nations and governments during the war. The picture that Kennan painted was of two young and mighty powers, one dominated by an obsession with security, the other by freedom.

Of course Kennan was not the only farsighted individual, and, indeed, there were many who could recall most vividly the communist victories within Russia during the chaos of World War I. But Kennan was unique in conveying the importance of developing a new American outlook on world affairs. He elucidated for his colleagues the internal logic operating within the higher echelons of the Soviet Union regarding international affairs, and defined the proper American response that had to be adopted in light of its new global responsibility. In short, Kennan advocated a policy of containment, a policy designed to pressure the Soviets at strategic locations around the world as a means of securing international peace. Kennan's containment doctrine became United States policy in one form or another in a rapid succession of developments.

In late 1944 and early 1945 Kennan penned volumes of memoranda, summations and reports urging his superiors, or anyone willing to listen, to consider the realities of the European situation. As the German Third Reich imploded into its imperial capital of Berlin, many European countries were discarded in a vacuum of chaos and disorder begging for the establishment of authority, whatever it may be. While the Red Army pushed the Germans back in the East, their ominous presence in such countries as Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and eventually Germany, dashed the hopes for a fair and just post-war settlement. Britain had abandoned its ill-fated appeasement policy in 1939 for the sake of an independent Poland. With British imperial power effectively destroyed and the national economy near bankruptcy, occupied Poland was like a thorn in the side; and it dampened any premature victory celebrations. The Red Army occupied the whole of eastern Europe and there was little the British could do to change the situation. The United States position towards a post-war settlement under the Roosevelt administration had always been one of ambiguous intent, often prolonging, or sidestepping the issue, vacillating until it became absolutely necessary to act.

Andrew Ruby's paper was completed for History 425, "Soviet Union," W.A. Jacobs, Professor, UAA History Department.

As early as the Tehran conference in 1943, Winston Churchill pressed the Americans for a long term post-war commitment in Europe which he believed was crucial to offset, or restrict, Soviet dominance. Churchill later revealed his concern in this manner:

> Cromwell was a great man but he had one failing. He had been brought up in the tradition of the Armada to believe that Spain was still a great power. He made the mistake of supporting France as a great power. Do you think that that will be said of me? Germany is finished, though it may take some time to clean up the mess. The real problem now is Russia. I can't get the Americans to see it (Wheeler-Bennett, 1974:290).

But hindsight has shown that Churchill was not alone. Kennan's constant sleeve tugging was slowly beginning to have an effect in Washington. The response at first was often irritation and resentment by Cabinet level administrators. Many referred to Kennan with skeptical remarks similar to the famous characterization of John Adams by Thomas Jefferson one hundred and fifty years earlier—that is, often brilliant but sometimes quite mad. Kennan was, for a time, the lone spokesman for what he perceived as an inevitable pattern in future United States foreign policy. As hostilities subsided across the globe Kennan claims to have been the only advocate "in the higher echelons of our governmental service of a prompt and clear recognition of the division of Europe into spheres of influence and of a policy based on such division" (Kennan, 1967:253).

One of Kennan's more famous statements appeared within a report requested by the State department on Soviet press coverage:

> It can safely be said that no group of people anywhere are more conscious of the critical quality of the post-hostilities period, of its dangers and possibilities, than the leaders of the Soviet Union. Themselves the bearers of a regime forged in the chaotic aftermath of the last war, they are keenly aware that it is in this period of civil and social confusion following on the heels of general military conflict that the lines are drawn which congeal into permanency and determine the overall patterns of the future. They attach even greater importance to the decisions of the next few weeks than to the decisions of possible futurepeace conferences. For these later decisions, in the Soviet view, will have been struck while the iron was hot (Kennan, 1967:252).

Kennan's efforts finally culminated in the legendary "long telegram" to the State Department on February 22, 1946. In his Memoirs Kennan explains that the Moscow Embassy was instructed, via the Treasury Department, to make an assessment of Soviet attitudes towards the newly created World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Realizing his opportunity had at long last arrived, Kennan wasted no time in responding. His long telegram began with an apology, confessing that the answer to the Treasury Department request "involves questions so intricate... that I cannot compress into [a] single brief message without yielding to..[a] dangerous degree of over simpli-

fication" (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969:696). From that humble beginning the telegram continued, for another 8000 words, to describe the intricacies of Soviet behavior. Kennan humorously suggested that the text of the message was broken into five separate parts, "all neatly divided, like an eighteenth century Protestant sermon," so that all Departments might feel equally obligated to consider their contents (Kennan, 1967:293-4). The five subjects carried the appropriate headings:

> Basic features of post-war Soviet outlook.
> Background of this outlook.
> Its projection in practical policy on official levels.
> Its projection on an unofficial level.
> Practical deductions from standpoint of US policy.
> (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969:696-7).

The impact of the long telegram was immediate and assured Kennan of a voice in all subsequent policy developments regarding the Soviets. Kennan provided a mixture of doomsday prophecy and naked reality. Dean Acheson, then under Secretary of State, later remarked that the telegram "had a deep effect on thinking within the Government, although Government response with action still needed a year's proof of Soviet intentions as seen by Kennan" (Acheson, 1969:151). The American public was just becoming aware of the "menace in the east" as the euphoria of victory subsided and the sobering price of victory was assessed. A large portion of this new responsiveness to Kennan's doctrine originated in the American press. Reports began appearing in early 1946 that reminded the public that the Soviet Union was a belligerent police state. During the same week that Kennan penned his long telegram the New York Times headlines read: "Russians Attack Canada's Prime Minister", "Pius Warns Russia His Stand is Firm", or, "Socialism vs. Communism-The Stake: Europe". The positive response to Kennan's containment policy within the bureaucracy was supported by an embryonic awareness in public opinion.

Kennan wrote yet another document in July 1947 which had a profound influence on United States containment policy, published under the pseudonym 'X' in Foreign Affairs. The article, titled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct", advocated, a "get tough" policy. Kennan had, by this time, returned to the United States to become director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff after a short tenure with the National War College. When George Marshall was confirmed as Secretary of State in early 1947, one of his first official acts was the creation of the planning staff, a body responsible for "formulation and developing...long term programs for the achievement of U.S. foreign objectives" (Gaddis, 1982:25). Kennan, the logical choice, was named the first director of the planning staff. It was because of his high position in government that Kennan chose to remain anonymous in the Foreign Affairs article. The pseudonym "X" came back to haunt him almost immediately, however, as journalists doggedly tracked down the author's real identity.

The contents of the "X" article coupled with Kennan's reputation and position within the State Department gave the containment idea instant credibility. The word "containment" was introduced in the article and soon became a basic term in the development of an American policy of response to the Soviet threat. Kennan urged a long-

term commitment, an "adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy" (Kennan, 1947:576). The thesis in the "X" article was not much different from the ideas outlined in the long telegram. In both cases, Kennan argued for a long term and consistent effort of containment based on economic and defensive military strategies.

In short, the problem was the Soviets' geo-political position. With borders on Europe, China, the Middle East and the Pacific, the Soviets were there already. In order for the Americans to adopt a successful policy of containment, it was necessary to consider the British term 'spheres of influence' and power projections across the oceans. Action by the West required a bottom-line commitment of men, machines, and money to be placed strategically around the world for an undetermined amount of time. Such notions harked back to pre-war imperialism when the British, French, and Dutch bullied or bluffed many parts of the world for their own benefit. For the United States to justify a containment policy, and perhaps also an occupation policy, a drastic departure was required from traditional policies.

For Americans, assuming the responsibility of a worldwide peacekeeper was made all the more viable after the war by George Kennan. His simple and logical arguments were adopted into the rhetoric of the day because of their reliance on showing how the Soviet's own historical and ideological positions were diametrically opposed to those of the United States. The period of confusion immediately after the war, when a nuclear monopoly existed, was due mainly to America's new global position of first among equals. It would seem that the United States knew what to do, but ran into moral problems justifying its actions. During this critical period of readjustment, as Daniel Moynihan noted, George F. Kennan provided the "first serious theoretical attempt within the American foreign policy establishment to understand the consequences for world affairs of a suddenly substantial and quite visible Soviet power" (Moynihan, 1979:viii).

With the inauguration of the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan in 1947 the political, economic and militaristic implications of Kennan's containment idea were put into practice. The public response was even more supportive when excerpts of the "X" article were reprinted in Time magazine and Reader's Digest. In retrospect, Kennan's timing was impeccable. The American response, however, has been confounding scholars and analysts ever since. Daniel Moynihan offers an excellent assessment: "The irony is that the problem seemed far more difficult in 1947 when it was in fact far easier to manage" (Moynihan, 1979:viii). Moynihan is referring, of course, to the American nuclear monopoly that existed from 1945 to 1949, although even after the Soviets tested their own version of the bomb, they did not possess the technology to reproduce more than one or two a year and also lacked an adequate delivery system. Putting aside for a moment the American nuclear monopoly, there was also much evidence after the war of what Moynihan calls the "Anglo-American theorizing mold...a kind of political, psychological, and intellectual superiority which was everywhere in evidence" (Moynihan, 1979:ix). Roosevelt's United Nations plan was the most visible element of this omnipotent superiority, although there were others, such as the rejection of European imperialism. The Marshall Plan extended American multinational commerce and finance across the globe and assured the West that political and cultural laws

based on the Anglo-American model would reign supreme.

Many historians have argued that "timing is everything," and Kennan would certainly concur. As Henry Kissinger later characterized Kennan with perhaps a bit of envy, "George Kennan came as close to authoring the diplomatic doctrine of his era as any diplomat in our history" (Gaddis, 1982:26). He accomplished this by providing a glimpse into the internal logic of the Soviet regime. More importantly, he conveyed his succinct convictions at a time when his government and nation were most willing to listen. As such, Kennan is, and will always be, the first author of America's containment policy.

References

Acheson, Dean.
1969 Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department. New York: W. W. Norton.

Gaddis, John Lewis.
1982 Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy. London: Oxford University Press.

Gellman, Barton.
1984 Contending with Kennan: Towards a Philosophy of American Power. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Kennan, George F.
1947 "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." Foreign Affairs, XXV.
1967 Memoirs: 1925-1950. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

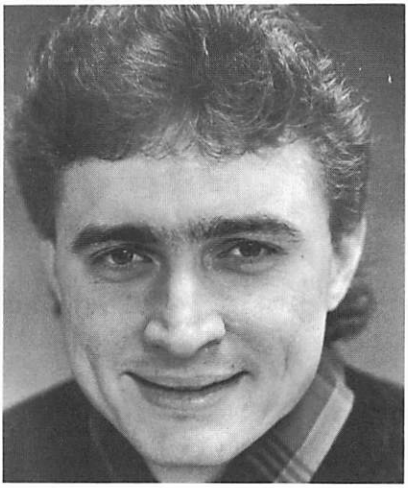
Moynihan, Patrick.
1979 Encounters with Kennan: The Great Debate (Introduction). London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

U.S. Government Printing Office
1969 Foreign Relations of the United States, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union. Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

Wheeler-Bennett, John W. and Anthony Nicholls.
1974 The Semblance of Peace: The Political Settlement after the Second World War. New York: W. W. Norton.

The Allied Strategic Bombing Offensive and the Attack on Dresden, 13-14 February, 1945

David Scott Tomaso



David Scott Tomaso

"Habet mundus iste noctes suas,
et non paucas"
(This world of ours has its nights,
and not a few of them).
-Bernard of Clairvaux

On the night of 13/14 February, 1945, the Royal Air Force Bomber Command dispatched 805 Lancaster bombers and light aircraft armed with incendiary and heavy high explosive bombs to attack the old Saxon capital of Dresden, located southeast of Leipzig along the Elbe River in eastern Germany. The next day the American Eighth Air Force attacked the city with more than 400 bombers (Webster and Frankland, 1961:109). The city was destroyed by an intense fire-storm induced by a barrage of incendiary bombs. Dresden was one of several targets designated by the Air Ministry in early 1945 as part of an overall strategic bombing plan by the Allied Air forces to eliminate the ability of the Germans to resist. This essay attempts to measure the extent to which the attack on Dresden conformed to the Allied policy on strategic bombing and why this particular attack became so controversial.

World War II was the first conflict in which domination of the air was to prove essential to victory (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Vol. I, 1976:107). In the European theater of war there were a number of air power roles. Air power was to be used in support of the navy at sea, the army on the ground, as a partner with both on invasion beaches, in air reconnaissance, in moving troops and critical supplies, and as an "attacker of the enemy's vital strength far behind the battle line" (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Vol. I, 1976:1).

At the outset of hostilities there circulated among the Allied Air Forces a current of belief in the destruction of the enemy's military power, in particular by what was termed 'precision daylight bombing.' This theory of attack remained, ostensibly at least, the rule for the American Air Forces, but not for the RAF. It had been recognized in the early 1930s that due to Great Britain's geographical position defensive air tactics should be emphasized, although "Britain's prewar strategic priorities gave a great deal of emphasis to the role of the offensive bomber force of the RAF" (Smith, Jr., 1971:274). With

David Scott Tomaso's paper was written for History 402, "The Scond World War," W.A. Jacobs, Professor, UAA History Department. (For my Grandparents, John D. & Mary S. Curry.)

the onset of hostilities, the RAF attempted daylight raids but incurred great losses and resorted to night raids instead.

Early in 1942 Bomber Command resorted "to systematic bombing of German cities" with "large areas of attack." An area raid was defined as "a raid intentionally directed against a city area by more than 100 bombers with a bomb weight in excess of 100 tons, which destroyed more than two percent of the residential buildings in the city." The bombing raids were made at night, directed against large cities, and designed to spread destruction over large areas (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Vol. I, 1976:71-72). Bomber Command continued this policy of area bombing throughout the war. Due to technical limitations, the pressing need to halt the Nazi war machine pushed aside precision strategies that could in time be realized, at least theoretically. Choosing the expedient led to a substantial increase in the death toll of the German civilian population. This resulted in severe criticism of the bombing methods employed in the closing months of the war. Dresden was to be the vortex of a storm of this controversy.

In January 1943, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met at Casablanca for their fourth wartime meeting. Relative to the air effort, two points stand out which were significant for subsequent Allied bombing policy. The first was that an unconditional surrender was demanded of the Axis powers. Unconditional surrender was defined as:

> "...the destruction of a philosophy...based on the conquest and subjugation of other people" and "not the destruction of the populace..." (Langsam, 1958:88).

The second was a measure approved by the Combined Chiefs of Staff at Casablanca on 21 January 1943. From that time British Bomber Command and the U.S. Air Force would operate in conjunction with U.S. Bombers. The 21 January directive outlined the primary objective as being:

> "...the progressive destruction and dislocation of the German military, industrial and economic system, and the undermining of the morale of the German people to a point where their capacity for armed resistance is fatally weakened" (Foreign Relations of the United States: The Conferences at Washington, 1941-42, and Casablanca, 1943, (1968:781).

Specific targets were to be "German submarine construction yards, the German aircraft industry, transportation, oil plants, and other targets in enemy war industry" (Foreign Relations of the United States: The Conferences at Washington, 1941-42 and Casablanca, 1943, (1968:782).

In the early months of 1943, the RAF made bombing campaigns against submarine production and industrial targets in Germany which damaged buildings and precipitated local delays in production. In June of that year the Combined Bomber Offensive was initiated and given the code name 'Pointblank' (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Vol. I, 1976:25-37). In this combined effort the RAF was to make night raids on German cities while the American Air Forces were to continue to make

daylight raids. In the first four months of 1944, the Allied Air Forces concentrated on bombing aircraft and anti-friction bearings factories and oil and nitrogen plants. In August 1944, Sir Charles Portal, British Chief of the Air Staff offered a plan to the Chiefs of Staff which became known as 'Thunderclap,' the object of which was to deliver a destructive blow to Berlin to bring about surrender after victory had already been determined (Webster and Frankland, 1961:95). Later in September attacks were made against the German transportation system. In October the target became the Ruhr steel industry. Initially, the attacks had little effect on war production, but by December 1944, all sections of the German economy were in rapid decline (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Vol. I, 1976:37-38).

Although the bombing raids of 1944 achieved the objective of severely damaging the enemy's war capability, after the middle of the year bombing was ton for ton less effective and "with the possible exception of Dresden, never again achieved the degree of demoralization which marked the Hamburg raids in July-August 1943" (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Vol. I, 1976:74). In January 1945, there ran a general feeling among the Allies of what has been called "anti-climax." Although Sir Arthur Harris, Commander-in-Chief of Bomber Command believed that the "general area offensive" was "seventy percent completed," apprehensions over the Ardennes offensive and the development of new weapons by the Germans such as V-2 rockets and jet aircraft spread among Allied commanders (Webster and Frankland, 1961:95-95). To allay these fears, new directives were issued to the 'Pointblank' forces in order to maintain the two crucial foundations of victory for the western alliance, "the Battle of the Atlantic and general air superiority" (Webster and Frankland, 1961:96).

In late January 1945, Sir Arthur Harris proposed additional targets to the 'Thunderclap' plan, namely, Chemnitz, Leipzig, and Dresden (Webster and Frankland, 1961:100). On 25 January, Prime Minister Churchill queried Sir Archibald Sinclair, Secretary of State for Air, as to what the RAF planned to do about Germans retreating from the drive of the Red Army. Sinclair replied to Churchill that all would remain the primary target but that Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz might be attacked because of their roles as administrative and communication centers. Churchill persisted on what was to be done, however, to what he "considered to be an especially attractive targets." On 27 January, Sir Arthur Harris was "formally instructed to carry out the policy which he himself had formally suggested on the previous day" (Webster and Frankland, 1961:100-104).

On 4 February 1945 at the Yalta Conference, the Soviets requested that the western allies employ strategic bombing to aid the Russians in their advance on eastern German cities "by air attacks against communications...and the centres: Berlin and Leipzig." General Antonov also requested that a bombline be established in Germany which included Dresden (Webster and Frankland, 1961:105-106).

The city of Dresden, known as the 'Florence on the Elbe' because of its architecture and art treasures, had developed into an industrial center in the 19th century, and a center of transportation (Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th Ed.). In the early part of the 20th century the city flourished and by 1939 the population was estimated at 630,000 (Berghahn, 1982:254). As a strategic position in 1945, Dresden remained a center for communications with an extensive railway system. It also became an important administrative arm of the Nazi regime due to bombing raids on Berlin (Irving, 1963:72).

In early February 1945, Marshall Koniev's First Ukrainian Army captured Budapest and by the middle of the month was within seventy miles of Dresden (The New York Times, 14 February 1945:1A). With German refugees fleeing from the Russians in the east, and the Germans having failed in the Ardennes offensive, it was rumored that armored divisions from the west began to move east to meet the Russian advance. It was thought by the Russians that the Panzer divisions would pass through the rail junction at Dresden, hindering the Russian advance (Calvocoressi and Wint, 1972:534). These pieces can now be seen as a whole, but in February 1945, the view was not so clear. At the time of the attack, there was little hard current intelligence on Dresden (Smith, Jr., 1971:11).

On 14 February 1945, Flight Raid Report no. 837 of Bomber Command stated that Bomber Command had made "its first visit of the war" to Dresden. The attacks came in two waves at three hour intervals. At 10:15 p.m. the first wave of Lancasters began the attack. The weather proved good with only variable drifting cloud patches with tops to 6,000 feet and no moon (Flight Raid Report no. 837, 13-14 February, 1945). In seventeen minutes the first wave had unloaded its arsenal. Seventy-five percent of the bombs dropped were incendiary bombs causing the man-made phenomenon known as the fire-storm in which a concentrated fire engulfed the center of the city causing a tremendous updraft fed by the oxygen at the perimeters of the city, which in turn caused a high-wind suction toward the center of the fire. These winds would often reach such high velocities as to uproot trees. The remaining 25% were general purpose bombs disrupting water mains and underground communication lines (Smith, Jr., 1971:26-27). At 1:30 a.m. the second wave began its attack, repeating the barrage of the first wave. During daylight at 12:16 p.m., 461 B-17 bombers of the 1st Air Division of the Eighth American Air Force attacked Dresden. Again both incendiary and general purpose bombs were dropped on the target, three large railway stations and the marshaling yards (Smith, Jr., 1971:31-32). The Bomber Command report assessed the damage in general terms, stating that 85% of the fully built-up area had been devastated (Flight Raid Report no. 837, 13-14 February 1945). The attack had been a success and "seemed to go like clockwork" (Smith, Jr., 1971:36).

The overall devastation was not fully realized until 22 March when photographic reconnaissance was made and the damage revealed. (The physical damage was assessed, not the loss of human life. The city fell into the hands of the advancing Russians, who gave, according to present-day scholars, the most accurate estimate of the death toll, i.e. 35,000 (Smith, Jr., 1971:269)). The old town was destroyed along with most of the inner suburbs. "Gasworks and two tramway depots were severely damaged" as well as railway facilities. "Bridges over the Elbe and public buildings were well hit" and "the total damage was very great indeed." There had been very little German opposition in the air, and the anti-aircraft fire (known as flack) had been "negligible" (Flight Raid Report no. 837, 13-14 February 1945). This attack, like the attacks on Hamburg in July-August 1943, conformed to the objectives set forth at the Casablanca Conference. The industrial and economic capability of the city had been destroyed, and it almost goes without saying that the morale of the German people suffered severely and their capacity to resist was "fatally weakened."

A point must be addressed here as to the means of measuring the damage to the morale of the bombed population. It is more accurate to refer to this measurement in

terms of "degree of demoralization." Determining the physical destruction of an oil plant can be done visually by aerial reconnaissance and photography. But it is very difficult to determine the mental, emotional, and spiritual state of a human population. It cannot be objectively determined. However, one can safely assume that a population assailed by bombs will be less than optimistic about the future and depressed about their immediate circumstances to say the least. If the entire population has lost the will to do all but survive (and in the case of Dresden the survivors were necessarily the fortunate ones) and their will to resist will have been "fatally weakened," it is absurd to think that the population will enthusiastically continue the war effort. What the actual "degree of demoralization" was on 14 February will never be known. What is significant is that the incident was to be used as a Nazi lever of propaganda. This led to an unfortunate and inaccurate press release that sparked a controversy over the bombing.

In his doctoral dissertation The Bombing of Dresden Reconsidered: A Study in Wartime Decision Making, Melden E. Smith cites what is to my mind the crucial incident which laid the foundation for the ensuing controversy over the Dresden bombing. On 16 February 1945, an Associated Press Correspondent, Howard Cowan, had been one of many reporters present at a press conference in Paris to be addressed by Air Commodore Grierson, an Intelligence Officer (A-2) of the SHAEF staff. In a response to a query by Cowan the Air Commodore made reference to German allegations of "terror bombing." The dispatch was released in America and broadcast throughout liberated France. The British, however, rightly detected the sort of impact the dispatch would have on the public mind, and suppressed it (Irving, 1963:219). In the U.S. on 18 February 1945, the headlines of the Washington Evening Star read: "Terror Bombing Gets Allied Approval as Step to Speed Victory. Raids On Crowded Reich Cities Slow War Traffic, Sap German Morale" (Smith, Jr., 1971:72). In the report Cowan said:

> "Allied Air Chiefs have made the long-awaited decision to adopt deliberate terror-bombing of German population centres as a ruthless expedient of hastening Hitler's doom" (Irving, 1963:218).

The release of the dispatch in the U.S. provoked immediate queries among Air Force Staff. General H.H. Arnold, Army Air Force Chief of Staff contacted General Carl A. Spatz, U.S. Strategic Air Force Commander in Europe to be certain "that...attacks did not imply indiscriminate attacks upon cities for the purpose of causing civilian demoralization...as we have steadfastly preached the gospel of precision bombing against military and industrial targets" (Smith, Jr., 1971:73). In a short time, it was revealed that the Cowan dispatch had not been an official release nor approved by the U.S. Dispatch Office. Washington Officials were satisfied (Smith, Jr., 1971:77). In Britain, despite the suppression of the dispatch, concerned officials got wind of the press release and public opinion swayed toward moral indignation over the policies of the Air Ministry. On 6 March 1945, a public debate was held in the British Parliament and the conduct of the bombing offensive against Germany was attacked in the House of Commons (Smith, Jr., 1971:79). The British Air Ministry, and especially Sir Arthur Harris, Commander-in-Chief of Bomber Command, found themselves in an embarrassing position (Webster and Frankland, 1961:113).

The situation became more damning on 28 March 1945 when Prime Minister Churchill in a minute (revised history) to General Ismay and the Chief of the Air Staff stated that: "The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing" (Webster and Frankland, 1961:112). This flat contradiction by Churchill of a wartime bombing policy that he had condoned put the Air Staff in a compromising position. Churchill had given the official bombing directives and had long supported such operations. (In a telegram to President Roosevelt on 2 December 1942 prior to Casablanca, Churchill related a telegram that he himself had sent to Stalin stating: "...all the time our bombers will be blasting Germany with an increasing violence. Thus the halter will tighten upon the guilty doomed." (Foreign Relations of the United States: The Conferences at Washington, 1941-42, and Casablanca, 1943, 1968:495)). Due to the awkwardness of the situation and urged by anxious members of the Air Staff, the Prime Minister issued a new minute which deleted mention of Dresden and questioned the continuance of area bombing since it was becoming clearer that the Allies would soon claim victory (Webster and Frankland, 1961:117).

Melden Smith lays the ultimate responsibility for the attack rightly at the doorstep of Churchill, although Roosevelt had also been at Casablanca. Nevertheless, the fist-sized snowball had been fashioned already by the expedient of winning the war. The Prime Minister had been the authority to roll it downhill. Smith also, however, says that it was Nazi propaganda that "laid the foundations for Dresden's post-war place as a focal point in the debate over the bombing" (Smith, Jr., 1971:250). There is a weakness in this argument. The Nazi 'blitz-propaganda tactic' had been used heavily since the Polish campaign in September, 1939 (Wright, 1968:66-71). The effectiveness of German propaganda, however, declined as German victories were reversed and Nazi credibility was severely damaged (Wright, 1968:69-71). By February 1945, Nazi propaganda broadcasts to the U.S. and England about Allied "terror bombing" against German civilians had become routine fare.

In the post-war world, as Cold War tensions rose, Dresden was used by the Soviets in anti-western propaganda. Smith is right in saying that "devastated Dresden became a hostage to the Cold War" (Smith, Jr., 1971:257), but a minor hostage, not a major one. Smith cites two articles, one from The New York Times on 12 February 1953, and the other from Life magazine on 10 May 1954. Both articles express the discontent of the Dresden populace and Soviet indignation over U.S. involvement in the bombing, which the U.S. defended by citing the Soviet request for the air attack (Smith, Jr., 1971:256). The articles also gave the unverified death toll at 100,000. These articles were more important for their role in the Cold War. Dresden itself was not the issue.

It is not within the limits of this essay to come to any firm conclusions on the morality of area bombing. Certain propositions can, however, be made. First, the Allies were waging a just war. It would have been wrong to negotiate with Nazis, and Casablanca 1943 had determined with the unconditional surrender clause that there would be no negotiations. Secondly, appropriate and effective means had to be employed to force unconditional surrender. It is on this second point that the moral issue arises. In the area bombing policy, no distinction could be made between combatants and non-combatants. The undermining of the morale of the German people implied no concrete limitations in the conduct of bombing raids. This eliminated discriminating restraint and left a wide-

open path to pursue ambitious means for "fatally weakening" the enemy's " capability to resist." The reasons for this are many, and debate on this matter remains open. Nonetheless, a just war requires just means. The action taken on Dresden remains, in the well-chosen words of Churchill: "...a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing."

References

Berghahn, V.R.
1982 Modern Germany. New York: Cambridge University Press.
1945 Bomber Command Report On Night Operations: Flight Raid Report no. 837, February.

Calvocoressi, Peter and Wint, Guy
1972 Total War: The Story of World War II. New York: Random House, Pantheon Books.

Nineteenth Edition
"Dresden". Encyclopedia Britannica. 15th ed.

Irving, David
1963 The Destruction of Dresden. New York: William Kimber and Co. Ltd.

Langsam, Walter Consuelo
1958 Historic Documents of World War II. New Jersey: Anvil Books.

MacIsaac, David
1976 "Overall Report: European War". The United States StrategicBombing Survey, Vol. I. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
1945 "Russians Complete Fifty Day Siege". The New York Times. 14 (1) February.

Smith, Jr. and Melden E.
1971 The Bombing of Dresden Reconsidered: A Study In Wartime Decision Making. Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School. Michigan: Bell and Howell.

U.S. Government Printing Office
1968 Foreign Relations of the United States: The Conferences at Washington, 1941-42, and Casablanca, 1943. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Webster, Sir Charles and Frankland, Noble
1961 The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Wright, Gordon
1968 The Ordeal of Total War, 1939-1945. New York: Harper and Row.

Peter Parco (left) discusses "Moby Dick" while others listen.

Behind Closed Doors: American Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century

Lisa West-Livers

Lisa West-Livers

Abstract

The American system of government demands participation by the individual. Of that, I am proud. But public participation is not always encouraged by today's elected officials. It is a very complicated, highly technical world in which we operate. To be informed and active in reviewing governmental policies to assure they represent what Americans want is increasingly difficult. And yet, for that reason, it is even more important that we look beyond the words of our politicians and audit carefully the resulting policies. Foreign policy is a growing concern as resources become more scarce and domestic politics become evermore intertwined with foreign relations. An honest assessment of the US foreign policy structure and actions is important to guard our own democratic rights. The following essay is my interpretation of American foreign policy in the 20th century.

Introduction

> "I am persuaded no constitution was ever before as well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self government." Thomas Jefferson,1809 (Williams, 1980; vii)

The pairing of empire and self government, particularly by one of our most prominent forefathers, would shock most Americans. Today, imperialism is generally identified with more obvious, territorial expansionism and political control practiced by

---

Lisa West-Livers' paper was completed for History 455, "The Nation Security State: America and the World in the 20th Century," Kenneth O'Reilly, Professor, UAA History Department.

the Soviet Union, not the United States and its constitutional system of government. Democratic self government and the extension of democratic freedoms abroad, Americans believe, are incompatible with imperial aims. But if we review foreign policy decisions and their implementation since the turn of the century, will we see the results of a benevolent, altruistic policy? Will we find that our government has, as the Truman Doctrine states, assisted "...free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way"? (Furer,1970:78) Will we find that our own democratic freedoms to debate and participate in the creation of governmental policy have been protected? To all of these queries most Americans would reply yes, but the facts say no.

As an American, I am proud of the democratic ideals on which our government is based. But it is these same inalienable rights which should compel each of us to explore the answers to the questions stated above with a critical eye. To assure the continuation of a society based on individual opinion and rights we must become actively interested in pursuing the execution of all governmental policy— domestic and international—in the most straightforward and honest manner.

In order to understand the American foreign policy process as it exists today, we will review several political trends in the 20th century: first, beginning with the Progressive Era (1900-1917), the estrangement of the American people, both by choice and coercion, from unrestricted information and democratic debate on foreign policy; second, the increasing tendency by American presidents, despite resistance by the United States Congress, to concentrate power in the executive branch; and third, with the advent of the powerful presidential bureaucracy, the operation and execution of American foreign policy veiled in secrecy. Finally, several case studies will show that America has practiced an imperialistic foreign policy which ignores the interests of the American people as a whole and the rights of people abroad and, as a result, is ill prepared to meet the needs of the nation.

Democracy for All?

The idea of America's superiority and benevolence in assuring other countries the right to practice democracy was a mainstay of Progressive Era foreign policy. During this era American foreign policy was elitist, militaristic, interventionistic, and paradoxically, moralistic. (O'Reilly, 1987). In the eyes of most Americans the latter element outweighed and justified the former three. The immediate successes and tangible benefits of an expansionist foreign policy wrapped in a package of moral righteousness proved irresistible to the American people.

John Hay, Secretary of State under William McKinley and then briefly under Theodore Roosevelt, tested this formula in the early 1900s (O'Reilly, 1987). By arguing for free trade with China in his "Open Door Notes," Hay made a legitimate argument (in American eyes) to opening the world's formal colonial empires to United States' economic participation (O'Reilly, 1987). Furthermore, he argued for maintaining China's territorial integrity (O'Reilly, 1987). Hay's insistence on the democratic rights of the Chinese to their territory and equal economic access for all to China's markets made it appear that the United States was championing the rights of the Chinese people. In actuality, we were attempting to carve our own special niche in a world full of empires. With the Boxer Rebellion, a nationalistic response to colonialism in China, America did

not assist the Chinese in fighting for their right to self government (O'Reilly, 1987). Rather we sent troops to protect and maintain our interests alongside the other foreign powers (O'Reilly, 1987). Speaking out for the rights of other peoples was a fine facade, but protecting our economic interests was the ultimate goal.

Events in Central America would prove even more decisively that beneficial economic results assured credibility and continued public support for an expansionist foreign policy. Negotiations for the right to build a canal through Panama, a Columbian province, did not go as President Roosevelt had planned: the Columbian Senate rejected the terms of the Hay-Herran Treaty of 1903 (O'Reilly, 1987). Instead of pursuing an alternative route through Nicaragua, as Congress had instructed in the Spooner Act of 1902, Roosevelt incited and supported a revolution of Panamanian nationals (O'Reilly, 1987). Later with the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty the new nation of Panama gave the United States the original terms sought with Columbia (O'Reilly, 1987). Roosevelt's tactics were questionable, but the results were welcome.

It is important to note that the American public in general does not tend to accord a high priority to foreign policy. Unlike many smaller nations, such as those in Western Europe which are surrounded by countries with different languages, cultures, and politics, Americans live in a country so large that we are not forced to acknowledge or conform to the unfamiliar. This has, of course, contributed to the idea of superiority and self-righteouseness. Thus, for the most part, we have left foreign affairs to the governmental elites. As long as our elected politicians continued to pursue policies smothered in moral and democratic justifications that brought home tangible economic benefits, we did not concern ourselves with how the policy affected those abroad. Unlike Europe, where domestic politics were more closely interrelated with foreign affairs, we insulated ourselves from anything but indirect involvement in foreign affairs. Not until the world began to grow smaller and smaller through technological advancement, and our interests became more clearly intertwined, would everyday Americans pay more interest to foreign policy.

Elite Politics

The pursuit of empire required more than the tacit approval of the American people: it required congressional approval. Over the years, however, the executive branch wrested an increasing amount of power from Congress by maneuvering around its constitutional obligations by simply ignoring congressional directives or with semantic games (by executing agreements, for example, instead of treaties which require approval by two-thirds of the United States Senate) (O'Reilly, 1987). But congressional control of the purse strings made conflict unavoidable. The aggressive foreign policy America was (and is) pursuing costs a great deal of money, so Congress and the presidency are fated to wrestle over foreign policy objectives and their execution.

In 1920, Congress delivered a resounding defeat to President Wilson's internationalist goals and the power of the presidency by rejecting the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty, based on Wilson's Fourteen Points, included the formation of an international body for collective security: the League of Nations (O'Reilly, 1987). Congress

feared membership would mean an usurpation of powers from Congress to the president who would be empowered to execute agreements through the League. Furthermore, the United States would be constrained by its international obligations from pursuing its interests unilaterally. Later, America could not so easily deny that our interests were, in fact, international. But for the period between the world wars, Congress chose to concentrate its powers on preventing the president from involving the United States in another war (O'Reilly, 1987).

The argument between the president and congress did not constitute a well-rounded debate. Rather it seemed to reflect simply a power struggle of internal politics. Because Congress concentrated on domestic issues and restraining presidential foreign policy actions, they failed to properly analyze the nature of the war developing in Europe. Their refusal to face reality cost them dearly in their struggle for foreign policy control. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor, they were forced to surrender foreign policy control to the president (O'Reilly, 1987). Through their actions, they justified the need for flexibility which presidents had long argued for: flexibility to act and react in foreign affairs as quickly as necessary without the burden of congressional approval.

After World War II, President Truman attempted to narrow foreign policy debate further with the black-and-white politics of containment. By declaring a war on communism, anytime, anywhere, and by working to convince the American public that the Soviet Union was bent on taking over the world one country at a time, he created an atmosphere of crisis (O'Reilly, 1987). Foreign policy crisis required quick action and a president with the power and wherewithal to move rapidly against the threat to democracy throughout the world. Very little debate occurred challenging this theory (O'Reilly, 1987). Instead, the Republican-controlled Congress jumped on the band-wagon attempting to best the Democrats and their president as the champions of democracy by contributing to the search-and-destroy mission against communism.

Truman had the Soviet bear snapping at the borders of the free world, but McCarthyism brought the bear into the American home. By personalizing the fear of communism, McCarthyism was able to turn the search inward against the administration. McCarthyites spent several years trying to purge the State Department and other governmental departments of anyone who was either linkable to socialism/communism or deviated from the straightest of norms (O'Reilly, 1987). Civil rights were severely curtailed in this witch hunt as people lost their jobs for the most innocent liaisons. Democratic ideals of freedom were overlooked as national security became the pinnacle around which everyone rallied.

By purging the State Department of the 'wrong' type of people, McCarthyites further narrowed foreign policy debate by replacing people who held positions which required a broad, well-rounded outlook to effectively analyze world affairs with those who saw everything as black-and-white as Truman and McCarthy. Congress managed to play the game better than the president. Through their purges and loyalty programs, they assured that foreign policy personnel presented a united, but extremely narrow point of view. American foreign policy, without benefit of a wide ranging debate, was setting a course for disaster and giving the president support for maintaining a state of permanent crisis.

The Modern Presidency

United States presidents have taken advantage of their office to usurp more and more power in order to conduct foreign policy with a free hand (O'Reilly, 1987). To do so, they have created an extensive bureaucracy which allows them to circumvent the legislative and judicial branches of government as well as the public (O'Reilly, 1987). To avoid accountability, a central theme of our democratic government, this bureaucracy provides 1) the highest level of intelligence thus allowing them to control information dissemination and debate and 2) the means capable of carrying out, in secret, the most questionable of policies (O'Reilly, 1987).

The evolution of what is called "the modern presidency" has taken many years of presidential executive orders and maneuvering within Congress. Several pieces of legislation passed by Congress gave more power and money to the president and his bureaucracy. The National Security Act (1947) which created the National Security Council (NSC) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) may well have been the most important (O'Reilly, 1987). The NSC and CIA became the heart and soul of the president's foreign policy machine.

With the NSC and CIA, the president can gather data, plan, and implement foreign policy in a veil of secrecy (O'Reilly, 1987). Accountability was no longer an issue: NSC and CIA personnel were not required to be confirmed by Congress, the information gathered was not for public consumption, and the budget for covert actions was buried in the overall budget or reported to those in Congress who favored the policy. By manipulating the debate through information control and keeping knowledge of his foreign policy actions to a minimum, the President can implement policy without concern for public or Congressional accountability.

With the advent of the Cold War, covert actions were used much more often. The Cold War policy of containment dedicated us to fighting communism anytime anywhere. The control of information could place communism anywhere and thus justify any covert actions required. At the same time, however, this piecemeal, myopic foreign policy, given the wherewithal to interfere all over the world with no public accountability, meant the machine could easily get out of hand. Furthermore, because of the narrow definition of American foreign interests, impolitic, ineffectual, and even self-destructive foreign policy occurred and still occurs.

The Vanquished

An almost total disregard for democratic values at home has resulted in a foreign policy unprepared to meet the needs of America. Since the debate has narrowed remarkably, foreign policy decisions are made in a prejudicial environment. Without the benefit of varied opinion and a broad outlook, policies are constructed in a vacuum. Decisions are defined first within the narrowed parameters of America's duty to fight the continued growth of communism. Secondly, the decisions made and information gathered are produced by governmental personnel that, by way of purges or through the veiled workings of the president's unaccountable bureaucracies, have a decidedly limited and even skewed view of world affairs. And third, the most questionable of poli-

cies can be implemented in a covert fashion hidden from public or congressional review. This gives the people carrying out these policies little need to check their methods. In fact, the end—control of communism or whatever cause the politicians choose—becomes justification for whatever means they use. But deviations from the goal are inherent in this limited framework of decision making and often perpetuate undesired results.

The CIA engineered overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954 blatantly flouted the idea that America supported democratic reforms within the world and especially within its empire. More importantly, it is an example of the injurious effect covert actions and misguided reasoning by the presidential machine can have: American intervention victimized the Guatemalan people and tragically changed their lives.

Jacobo Arbenz was a popularly elected president. He had support of the people and the military (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 45-6). He attempted to institute reforms which would and did better the lot of a majority of the people. He and his predecessor, Arevalo, fashioned their governments upon President Roosevelt's New Deal ideas (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 26). It would be expected, given the political rhetoric of American foreign policy, that such reforms would be applauded. With a Republican administration in power, reforms based on the New Deal carried little weight. In fact, liberal reforms were cause for intervention in Guatemala (O'Reilly, 1987).

Most of the Guatemalan land was owned by the landed elite; Arbenz's land reform called for redistribution of unused lands with compensation paid to holders. The American owned United Fruit Company (UFC) had a great deal of fallow land and was adversely affected by the land reform (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 54). Through complaints to well-placed stockholders and other officials, UFC eventually convinced the Eisenhower administration to intervene on its behalf. The CIA chose to do so by staging a revolution to overthrow Arbenz and reinstitute more favorable laws for UFC (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 102-8). They accomplished this by using Castillo Armas as a front man for the covert operation (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 122). With tactical support from the CIA, he took over the Guatemalan government. Of course, the coup appeared to be locally inspired and the United States Government did nothing to indicate otherwise. In fact, it even falsely reported that the Arbenz government had communist connections in order to mislead the American public (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 107). Armas did restore UFC's privileged status and rolled back other hard fought political reforms (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 233). But to sustain his government, which had no popular support, he eliminated civil rights and other public freedoms and ruled through the military (Schlesinger and Kinzer, 1983: 235).

The real reasons for American intervention were ludicrous; the method abhorrent; the results devastating. Today, the legacy lives on: individual freedoms have been severely curtailed and Guatemala's population fear death squad retaliations. The leaders in place have nothing but fear for democratic reforms which would negate their rule. This type of foreign policy could hardly be called successful by any who wished for democratic freedoms being extended to all countries. But then again, that was the official rhetoric and not the reality.

Vietnam is another example of American foreign policy run amok. Though implemented in a somewhat more open manner, our policy there attempted to deal with communist insurgency only and not the fact that the make-up of the country and its people presented a much more complicated problem that needed to be addressed. Instead of attempting to view the whole picture, America chose to ignore the uniqueness of Vietnam and its people.

The undeclared war in Vietnam spanned several United States administrations: Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, and, as Frances Fitzgerald points out in her book, Fire in the Lake, the entire time we failed to address the needs of the Vietnamese people (1972: 5-7). By ignoring those needs, the policy was ineffectual and doomed to failure. And yet, the same sort of policy continues elsewhere today. In fact, the various policies instigated over the years, defined by a limited debate with disregard for regional desires, are coming back to haunt the United States as self-fulfilling prophesies. These policies are so narrow in scope that they either drive the countries toward the Soviets or become on their own, modern day thorns in America's side.

The best example of this is Iran. Before the Guatemala coup, the CIA successfully engineered the downfall of the popularly supported Mossadegh government and reinstated the Shah (O'Reilly, 1987). The replacement of Mossadegh was considered to be in the best interest of the United States because Mossadegh was a nationalist; America wanted someone who would guarantee the United States access to Middle East oil (O'Reilly, 1987). However, as in Guatemala, to assure his continuing reign, the Shah had to rule with a firm, military hand: the CIA helped train an Iranian secret police for this purpose (O'Reilly, 1987). The secret police existed to eliminate any opposition to the Shah. Its tactics and the Shah's self-serving dynasty worked against the good of the Iranian people. Two decades later the overthrow of the Shah would mean a nightmare for the United States, as American hostages were held for over one and a half years. To the American public, it would seem that the undesirable rise of Iran's spiritual and political leader, Khomeini, was perhaps unwarranted, but by facing history, it could only be expected.

American foreign policy makers and the American people are oriented toward the future and fail to put enough emphasis on analysis of the past. By refusing to see other peoples' interests and responding only to further our own, the vital cooperation needed for a foreign policy to succeed is missing. Just like the people in Iran or Vietnam, Americans once fought against oppression by a colonial empire. We revere the establishment of our nation state and our revolutionary freedoms but are unwilling to acknowledge such needs in other countries. We refuse to do so because those who make decisions regarding foreign policy are doing so in an elitist manner, void of the benefits of insight democratic debate can bring. By refusing to adhere to the democratic ideals at home and abroad and addressing only short term administrative needs, the United States is perpetuating a foreign policy which has failed again and again to properly address the national interests. In so doing, the United States has established a worldwide network of pro-American governments which are doomed to fall to nationalistic desires. With them will fall not only the most objectionable foreign policy goals of America but also the sincerest.

Proud of our democratic foundation and hopeful of its future domestically and internationally, I fear H. J. Raymond's prediction in 1864 may be coming true (Williams, 1980: 193): "We are the most ambitious people the world has ever seen;—and I greatly fear we shall sacrifice our liberties to our imperial dreams."

References

Fitzgerald, F.
1972 Fire in the Lake. New York: Vintage Books.

Furer, H., Editor
1970 Harry Truman 1884- : Chronology- Documents-Bibliographical Aids. New York: Oceana Publications Inc.

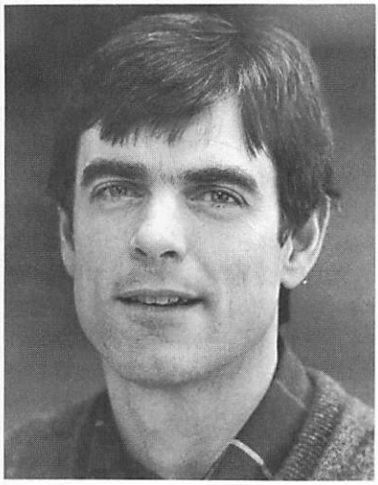
O'Reilly, K.
1987 Course lectures on American Foreign Policy. University of Alaska Anchorage, Fall.

Schlesing, S. and Kinzer, A.
1983 Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala. New York: Anchor Books.

Williams, W.A.
1980 Empire as a Way of Life. New York: Oxford University Press.

Effects of Remorse and Intentionality on Evaluation of a Rapist

Robert Wallis



Robert Wallis

Abstract

This experiment was designed to investigate how people will evaluate a rapist as a function of his expressed intent and remorse for his crime. College men and women (n=76) observed one of four videotaped interviews with a convicted rapist. In one interview, the rapist expressed that he had clear intent to commit the rape and that he felt no remorse. In a second interview, the rapist expressed intent for the rape but said he was sorry for his act and "wished it had never happened." In a third interview, the rapist denied intent, stating that he lost control and "didn't mean to do it." He did express remorse for his action. In a fourth interview, the rapist denied intent and said that he felt no remorse. Subjects evaluated the rapist significantly less favorably and they recommended a significantly longer prison sentence when the rapist expressed intent. Expression of remorse did not influence recommended prison sentence but did interact with intent such that the rapist was evaluated least unfavorably when he expressed both remorse and no intent. There were no significant differences for sex of subject. Results were integrated with a growing body of research on conditions under which people are held responsible or excused for antisocial behavior.

The development of the attributional approach to understanding human behavior has led to recent interest in how people justify their actions to satisfy personal needs. People rationalize their actions with excuses and justifications. Excuses are used to divorce a person from his actions if they are threatening to self-image or self-esteem. In a study on excuses for violent crimes, those excuses used for felonious assault were

---

Robert Wallis' paper was completed for Psychology 420 and 425, "Research Methods in Experimental Psychology and Techniques of Psychotherepy," Bruno Kappes and Chris Kleinke, Professors, UAA Psychology Department.

"drinking", "drugs", "emotional disturbance", "I was mad". The violent criminals were more likely to make such excuses if the victim was female (Felson & Ribner, 1981).

These excuses can be viewed as self-handicapping strategies to escape blame or responsibility for one's actions. Observations in psychiatric settings suggest that patients verbally and behaviorally manifest their symptoms to influence those in charge so that they can achieve certain needs and goals. When the individual who self-handicaps attempts to control the attributions others make of him/her, the employment of this device can be considered impression management (Snyder & Smith, 1982).

Expressing remorse can be another strategy for escaping blame. Remorse for wrongdoing is expected in our society, and its absence sends distinct messages to those who judge violent acts. In a recent study, an analysis of criminal records indicated that offenders with minimal criminal histories received more lenient sentences if they were remorseful for their crimes (Harrel, 1981).

The present experiment studied how a convicted criminal would be perceived as a result of expressed intent or remorse for perpetration of a violent crime. Rape, which has been of recent social interest (Brownmiller, 1975), and research interest (Kleinke, Meyer, & Kappes, 1988 for review), was chosen as the violent crime for the purposes of this study. This crime is committed frequently in our community, has received widespread attention in the news media, and invokes strong emotional reactions from the public. Subjects were asked to evaluate a rapist on the conditions of 1) intent to commit the crime (whether he planned the rape or claimed it was out of his control) and 2) expressed remorse afterward (whether or not he felt sorry that he had committed the rape). Our hypothesis was that the rapist would be evaluated as a function of these two variables. We expected that he would be evaluated most negatively when he expressed intent and no remorse, and least negatively when he expressed lack of intent yet remorse for his crime. It was also hypothesized that there would be a sex difference. Female subjects were expected to evaluate the rapist more negatively than would male subjects.

Method

Subjects

Subjects (50 female and 26 male) were recruited from lower-division Psychology classes of the University of Alaska, Anchorage. Subjects were randomly assigned to 4 groups; each group was randomly assigned to treatment.

Procedure

Each experimental group observed a two minute videotape, purported to be a segment of an interview with a convicted rapist. Four videotaped interviews were constructed which were similar in the following respects: A 28-year-old white male actor was interviewed by a white male counselor regarding a rape that he had committed and for which he had been convicted. In each videotape the seating and the camera angle were the same (the rapist sat with his back to the camera); the circumstances leading to the actual crime were recounted cursorily and identically in each case; the format and dialogue of each interview was replicated as closely as possible. The content of each interview differed for the following variables; if the rapist planned the crime or not, if the rapist expressed regret over the crime or not. In one interview the rapist stated clear

intent for the crime: "I planned to rape her..." and expressed no remorse for the act. In a second interview the rapist expressed the same intent but stated that he was sorry that "it had ever happened". In a third interview the rapist denied any intentionality "I just lost control of myself...I didn't mean to do it" and expressed remorse (as in #2 above). In a fourth interview the rapist denied intent but expressed no remorse. After each group viewed their videotaped version of the interview, they evaluated the rapist on an adjective check list and several rating forms.

Dependent variables

Manipulation check: the subjects evaluated their perception of the rapist's intent and remorse on two ten point rating scales.

PAI: the subjects evaluated the rapist on the Personal Attribute Inventory (Parrish, Bryant, & Schirazi, 1976). The PAI is an adjective check-list comprised of 50 positive and 50 negative traits. Subjects were instructed to choose 30 adjectives from the list that described the rapist. The number of negative adjectives chosen constitutes the score on the PAI. The higher the score, the more negatively the appraised individual is perceived.

Rating scales: subjects evaluated the rapist on four 10-point rating scales to show their perceptions of: the seriousness of the crime, likelihood of the rapist's rahabilitation, responsibility of the victim for the crime, responsibility of the perpetrator for the crime.

Prescribed sentence: the subjects indicated their recommended sentence for the rapist as years-in-prison.

Results

The subjects' responses were analyzed with analysis of variance in a 2x2x2 factorial design: subject sex x intent x remorse. All statistically significant results are reported.

Manipulation checks

Subjects' ratings indicated greater intent when the rapist stated intentionality in the interview than when he didn't ($Ms = 9.53$ vs 4.47; $F(1,68) = 131$, $p < .001$). Their ratings also indicated greater remorse when the rapist reported remorse for the crime than when he didn't ($Ms = 5.38$ vs 1.72; $F(1,68) = 73.6$, $p < .001$).

PAI

A significant Intent x Remorse interaction was found (see Table #1). The rapist was evaluated least unfavorably when he stated no intent for the crime, and remorse for his actions.

Rating Scales

Seriousness of crime: The crime was rated as more serious when the rapist expressed intent than when he didn't ($Ms = 9.53$ vs 8.34; $F(1,68) = 9.30$, $p < .05$) and also when the rapist expressed no remorse than when he did say he was sorry for the crime ($Ms = 9.25$ vs 8.58; $F(1,68) = 3.20$, $p < .08$).

Likelihood of rapist's rehabilitation: The subjects considered the rapist less likely to be rehabilitated when he expressed intent than when he didn't ($Ms = 3.68$ vs

6.95; F (1,68) = 37.10, p < .001) and when he expressed no remorse than when he did (Ms = 4.56 vs 6.00;F (1,68) = 7.47, p < .05).

Responsibility of rape victim: There were no significant effects.

Responsibility of rapist: The rapist was rated as more responsible when he expressed intent than when he didn't (Ms = 9.63 vs 8.84; F(1,68) = 3.93, p < .05)

Prison Sentence

The rapist was given a longer prison sentence when he planned the rape than when he didn't (Ms = 22.61 yrs. vs 11.50 yrs.; F(1,68) =4.66 p < .05)

Subject Sex Effect

No significant differences were found for sex of subject in the subjects' evaluations of the rapist.

Recommended Prison Sentence - Correlations

Significant correlations between the recommended prison sentence and the other dependent variables were computed (see Table 2). Recommended prison sentences were positively correlated with subject's perception of intent, their perceived seriousness of the crime, and their estimation of the degree to which the rapist was responsible for the crime. The recommended prison sentences were negatively correlated with subject's perception of remorse, likelihood for rehabilitation, and their estimation of the victim's responsibility for the crime.

Discussion

The results of this experiment stress the importance of the intentionality of the rapist upon his subsequent evaluation. When his peers were given the opportunity to judge this rapist, they were much more lenient when he gave an excuse for his crime ("I didn't mean to do it...it just happened"); they cut his prison sentence in half. The rapist's remorse didn't affect his sentence as we had predicted. We had thought that the subjects would be lenient if they perceived that he regretted his actions.

When the rapist's feelings of remorse were combined with his intent, they had a significant effect upon the subjects' appraisal of him. If the rapist reported that he didn't plan the crime and was sorry that it had ever happened, he was seen in a more positive light. Offering an excuse alone wasn't enough to get a favorable evaluation on the PAI, he had to express remorse as well. The failure to find a significant difference between male and female evaluations of the rapist leads us to consider that the two sexes were in agreement as to their perceptions of the perpetrator's attributes and responsibilities.

Because this study looked primarily at the social perception of the excuse-giver, I think it will be a significant addition to the body of research on self-handicapping whose emphasis has been on the excuses themselves (Snyder & Smith, 1982). We have also demonstrated again the value of an excuse in mitigating blame for a crime. The major effect of intent is also consonant with the concept of premeditation in our legal system (Averill, 1979).

In this study, the independent variables intent and remorse were manipulated concurrently. I think that future research should study the effect of those variables independently by the inclusion of a control group in the experimental design. It would also be useful to study the effects of other excuses to learn more about the likely successes of various self-handicapping strategies.

Table 1
Intent x Remorse Interaction on PAI

	Intent	No Intent
Remorse	18.9	14.6
	(20)	(20)
No Remorse	18.1	20.2
	(18)	(18)

*Note: Cell means and (ns).

Table 2
Correlations Between Recommended Prison Sentence and Other Dependent Variables

	r(75)	p
Manipulation Checks		
Perceived Intent	.28	.008
Perceived Remorse	-.35	.001
Rating Scales		
Seriousness of Crime	.22	.03
Likelihood of Rehabilitation	-.46	.001
Responsibility of Rape Victim	-.29	.006
Responsibility of Rapist	.21	.03
PAI	.19	.05

References

Averill, J.
1979 "Anger," in H. Howe & R. Dienstbeirer (Eds.), Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1978. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Brownmiller, S.
1975 Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Felson, R., & Ribner, S.
1981 "An attributional approach to accounts and sanctions for criminal violence." Social Psychology Quarterly, (44).

Harrel, W.
1981 "The effects of alcohol use and offender remorsefulness on sentencing decisions." Journal of Applied Social Psychology, (11).

Kleinke, C., Meyer, C., & Kappes, B.
1988 Evaluation of a Rape Victim by Men and Women with High and Low Belief in a Just World. University of Alaska, Anchorage: Unpublished manuscript.

Parish, T., Bryant, W., & Shiraze, A.
1976 The Personal Attribute Inventory. Perceptual and Motor Skills, (42).

Snyder, C., & Smith, T.
1982 "Symptoms as self-handicapping strategies: The virtue of new wine in an old bottle." In G. Weary & H. L. Mirels (Eds.), Integrations of Clinical and Social Psychology. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mandatory Work Requirements: Do They Work?

Diane M. DiSanto

Richard Nixon tried it. Gerald Ford tried it. Jimmy Carter tried it. Now Ronald Reagan will try to do what his predecessors could not: reform the nation's welfare system. All three presidents sought to decrease welfare dependence by families with children: Nixon and Carter by providing cash incentives for those who work, imposing work requirements, and setting up work programs; Reagan by requiring unpaid work (or work-related activity) as a condition of eligibility for aid and by penalizing states that fail to engage a specified share of mandatory work registrants in a work-related activity. The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 symbolized the most recent shift in attitudes about work for welfare.

Now, thirty-nine states have adopted "workfare" (mandatory work requirements for welfare recipients) programs. These programs have been praised by politicians and criticized by social workers. Workfare deprives its participants of their rights, displaces public employees, and takes away benefits that would be entitled to them if these workers stayed on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Supporters of workfare believe that it will reduce federal and state expenditures, improve job skills of participants, and improve the participant's psychological morale.

Workfare has always been one of the most controversial of all welfare issues. In its simplest form, workfare requires employable welfare recipients whose children are above a certain age to accept public service jobs and work a sufficient number of hours per month at prevailing wages to "pay off" their cash and food stamps (Bernstein, 1986: 1). Many believe it is a reasonable obligation to place on welfare clients in return for their grant and that it offers the additional advantages of enhancing the employability of the poor and upholding the integrity of the welfare system. Others argue that this constitutes "slave labor" because only job training for regular paid employment is morally acceptable.

Workfare recipients have none of the traditional rights accorded regular workers. They cannot join a union; they receive no real wages; they are not entitled to health insurance, social security, workers' compensation, or sick leave; and they have no guarantee of employment with the agency to which they are assigned. This was exemplified in the April, 1986, Comment section of Fortune magazine: "Public sector employees who lose their jobs in budget-tightening maneuvers may find their former positions filled by workfare participants. One such victim Sam Chini of Lackawanna, New York, worked for three years in the sanitation department, was laid off and forced on welfare and then found himself riding the same garbage truck as before as a workfare participant at one-third his former wage" (Fortune, 1986: 12).

Workfare is based on the deceptively simple premise that public assistance benefits should be earned in exchange for work performed. It is a concept that combines

---

Diane DiSanto's paper was completed for English 311, "Advanced Exposition," James Brosamer, Professor, UAA English Department.

work and welfare. It has become increasingly popular as federal and state legislators and public assistance officials attempt to control the size and cost of welfare programs. Work is considered morally uplifting, an antidote to laziness and crime, and a distraction from producing more children. It is estimated that eighty percent of the public supports workfare (Bernstein, 1978: 38). And President Reagan and his staff undoubtedly know this.

Workfare's lineage extends back to 1619, when the borough of Speenhamland, England, found that forcing the poor to work drove down other wages (Fortune, 1986: 12). In 1696 a wealthy merchant secured parliamentary approval to build a workhouse where the indigent were housed, fed, and clothed in return for preparing flax, hemp, wool, and cotton for weaving. Many similar endeavors followed throughout Europe as workhouses were established where poor people worked off the public aid they received (Goodwin, 1981: 19). Workhouses have disappeared because they proved economically and socially unsound. But the motivation that created them is still with us.

Prior to the Great Depression of the 1930's, obtaining jobs and providing welfare were primarily handled by the private sector. Families were to look after members who were not able to provide for themselves; and when that was inadequate, appeals were made to private charities. The federal government had little or no role in these matters. However, the depression changed the government's role. Millions of people lost their jobs and savings. The federal government was forced to intervene with some major programs.

The concept of work relief during this period was not like the poor laws concept in which hard manual labor was required of the recipients before relief was given. Each family's basic needs for food, shelter, etc., were determined and its relief grant was the difference between this amount and the family's income. Persons on work relief were to put in only the number of hours necessary to earn, at the going rates, their relief or budget requirement.

AFDC was established to assist families during the 1930s. The AFDC program was established as part of the Social Security Act of 1935. It was expected that it would be a relatively small program, providing aid mainly to children whose fathers had died. AFDC has grown greatly in size with much of the caseload being families headed by women who have divorced, separated, or have never been married.

Not until the late 1960's did unemployment emerge again as a problem, and then action was undertaken by the Kennedy Administration. The first of these actions was the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962, which allowed federal funds to be used through the states to help those who lost their jobs to obtain new skills. During 1962, another federal action took place with respect to job training, the Public Welfare Amendment. Instead of dealing with regular workers who had lost their jobs, it was aimed at recipients of public welfare (Goodwin, 1978: 15). In 1962, the enactment of the Community Work and Training Program (CWTP) allowed states for the first time to require adult recipients (male or female) to work in exchange for benefits. This program lasted for five years. Hope for a more adequate work training program was intensified by the rapidly rising costs of the welfare rolls.

In 1967, CWTP was replaced by the WIN program. Whereas CWTP had been a state option, WIN was mandated for all states. It required that states refer adult AFDC recipients to the program for occupational skills training and work-related activities

unless they fell into an exempt category, such as mothers with small children. In 1971 a series of amendments was passed which were intended to tighten up the WIN program and shift its focus from training to immediate job placement (Wolf-Jones, 1983: 3). AFDC provides the cash support to single families with children in WIN. Welfare recipients were now able to earn a certain amount of money without having it deducted from their welfare grant, thereby presumably increasing their incentive to work. Program parameters and benefit levels are set individually by each state, and costs are paid according to federal-state matching formula. The program exists in all states, although benefit levels vary widely from state to state.

In addition, Congress has authorized a variant of AFDC: AFDC-U (U stands for unemployed parent), which pays benefits to two-parent families if the family's principal earner is working less than 100 hours per month. AFDC and AFDC-U together provide benefits to 10.8 million persons in 3.5 million families at an annual cost of $11.7 billion (Levy, 1978: 7).

In 1981 a new national workfare policy was enacted, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1981. This act authorized a Community Work Experience Program (CWEP) in an amendment to section 409 of the Social Security Act. The federal government gave permission to the states to require recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children to work at designated unpaid jobs for their benefits.

Meanwhile, in that same year, Congress rejected President Reagan's pleas to make workfare mandatory nationwide, but it allowed states to put job requirements in welfare. Congress gave state and local governments new flexibility to move welfare recipients off the rolls and into jobs. Some states chose the route of requiring welfare recipients to participate in "workfare" programs in order to continue receiving benefits. Other states began voluntary programs that provide more job training and counseling and offer the option of performing unpaid community service as work experience. Between 1619 and 1981 the type of programs that have been legislated have had some failures and some successes. We will now look at two federal programs that were considered successful by social workers and frowned upon by others.

WIN and CETA, both part of CWEP, are two programs that have generated the most studies and have had the most participants. But the primary program designed to increase the employability of those on AFDC is the Work Incentive (WIN) program. It is administered jointly by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). When first established in 1967, the program included child care services provided by local welfare agencies and employment counseling and training provided by job service offices. WIN's participation is mandatory for those AFDC recipients defined as eligible. In 1971 the Congress passed the Talmadge Amendments, which shifted the priorities of WIN. The emphasis moved from supportive services and institutional training aimed at increasing employability and furthering longer run employment goals of recipients to policies designed mainly to increase short-run employment. These new policies (now WIN II), include greater emphasis on on-the-job training, tax incentives to employers who hire WIN participants, public service employment, direct placement into unsubsidized jobs, and enforcement of work requirements. Since 1971 all AFDC recipients have had to register for WIN unless they are legally exempted for reasons of health, incapacity, home responsibilities, advanced age, or remoteness from WIN projects. Over three-quarters of AFDC recipi-

ents never face the work incentive at all because they are exempt under WIN's eligibility rules (U.S. Department of Labor, 1980: 5-6).

None of the requirements appear to have had much effect on welfare dependency. According to a study of the WIN program in New York City done by Lawrence M. Mead for Policy Studies Review in 1983, "Welfare rolls grew explosively in the late 1960s and early 1970's, then leveled off. The Secretary of Health and Human Services testified that only about 14 percent of welfare mothers are working now, the same as in 1967" (Mead, 1983: 648). Although recipients are eligible for training and other services, the funding for these services has been reduced during the program's history. The incentive for employers to hire AFDC mothers consists of a tax credit under the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit program. This program allows an employer to take a tax credit equal to one-half the wages paid to a former AFDC mother up to a maximum credit of $3,000.

WIN clients must be certified for active status, which requires that they be non-disabled and receive child care or other social services necessary to participate. Once certified, they must cooperate with WIN. Those who miss appointments or refuse suitable employment are supposed to be adjudicated. They are called in for conciliation, then if necessary sent a notice of intended deregistration. Those who persist are "deregistered" from the program and "sanctioned", i.e., excluded from coverage by their welfare grant, though the rest of the family usually remains covered (Mead, 1983: 650).

Reviews of the WIN program nationwide, have found a number of reasons for its limited effectiveness, including poor administrative structure, inadequate funding for supportive services, and lack of staff training. Most troublesome has been the program's failure to assist the large number of registrants required to participate. During fiscal year 1982 in New York, 90,894 individuals, or 64 percent of the registrants, were not provided any service when they registered. Of those, over 10 percent remained unserved for more than twelve months. Those who eventually were served were generally represented as the easiest to employ—those most likely to get jobs without the help of special services. (Sanger, 1984: 30)

CETA has proved to be more effective than WIN. Through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), a variety of employment and training services have been provided to AFDC recipients. These services have been funded principally under Title 11B of the Social Security Act. This authorizes programs to serve the unemployed and economically disadvantaged, including welfare recipients. Title 11B has four components: (1) On-the-job training (OJT) provides work presentation and skills training to participants hired by private employers. Employers are reimbursed for 50 percent of the participant's wages during the period of training and are expected to retain participants as regular employees after training is completed. (2) Classroom training provides participants with basic skills in English and math needed to perform most jobs and, in most cases, with skills required for a specific occupation. Training is typically conducted in an institutional setting for a period of approximately six months. (3) Adult Work Experience (AWE) provides a stepping stone for persons who either have never worked or have not worked for an extended time. Participants in AWE are assigned to subsidized work situations in public or nonprofit agencies for a maximum of 1,000 hours per year. (4) Other services include labor market information, job search assistance, counseling, and job referrals.

The WIN and CETA programs have made efforts to aid in the employment of welfare recipients; however, much work has yet to be done. In order for work incentive programs to work, they would have to include the following: incentives which are more effective than punitive measures; incentives to participants that make a job more profitable than remaining on welfare; programs which offer incentives to employers to cover the extra costs of training and lost productivity; coordination with existing programs and resources serving similar populations groups, such as the Job Training Partnership Act; and a simplicity in program requirements, which reduces red tape and the perception of red tape for participants and business involvement (Committee on Ways and Means, 1986).

Arguments for and against workfare may involve not so much a trade-off between welfare savings and fairness as questions about the values attached to the AFDC program. Some will argue that even if workfare costs more up front, it represents a sounder design for AFDC because it fits with the nation's values of work and will then improve the image of welfare among recipients and the public. Others will contend that what is needed are not requirements but jobs and investments in training (Gueron, 1986: 12). Workfare appears to cost, rather than save money in the short run. While noneconomic factors such as motivation and ambition clearly are important in the willingness of welfare recipients to accept employment, welfare recipients are generally economically rational in making decisions about work. Since work imposes added costs, such as transportation or clothing without yielding increased income, they, the recipients, often are not anxious to participate. As a result, programs require substantial administrative and supervisory expenses.

The gains from work will be even less if the welfare client's Medicaid eligibility is lost as a result of employment. Current federal regulations would force a welfare mother to lose Medicaid eligibility if she earned $8,154 annually. While precise calculations of the net income deductions due to shifting health benefits are not possible, the loss of Medicaid eligibility probably translates into a slight income decline and increases the cumulative marginal tax rate by roughly 1 percent (Sanger, 1984: 42).

The case against mandatory participation, then, is that it raises administrative costs without increasing program effectiveness. Managing a mandatory work requirement program is very costly because it requires continual monitoring, follow-up, and sanctions by an administrative staff. Managing work requirements also does not result in cost saving attributable to higher levels of employment or lower levels of welfare payments (Sanger, 1984: 45).

The Manpower Demonstration Research Corp. (MDRC), a New York based independent non-profit organization that evaluates poverty and employment programs, studied welfare employment in 11 states. MDRC weighed the costs of running workfare program against the saving in AFDC outlays. It found that most states come out ahead. The reductions in AFDC outlays ranged from almost none in Maryland to 11% in Arkansas; in most cases they were 5% to 8% (Williams, 1986: 109). There is still no proof that the program's sanctions yield cost savings. First, workfare costs more than straight welfare payments. Administrative costs, supervision of workers and work related expenses such as tools, uniforms, transportation, and child care don't materialize from thin air. The extra money comes from the taxpayers' pockets whether or not it actually appears in the welfare budget.

Little information about workfare's effectiveness, including the extent to which net welfare savings may occur after considering CWEP program costs, is available. One of the primary reasons the Administration gave for proposing workfare is that it would help save money. Not only are CWEP's short term costs likely to increase under the administration's proposals, but also the burden of those costs is likely to fall much more heavily on the states than it has in the past. At the same time, according to a report by the General Accounting Office, these initial cost increases might be offset by long-term AFDC savings if these revised programs were successful in reducing the number of individuals who receive welfare benefits (GAO, 1984: 7).

In fact, opinions are mixed about whether workfare can reduce the cost of AFDC. Alabama's pilot project, for example, was not extended beyond the one county because its administrative costs substantially exceeded the original calculation of savings from terminating and reducing AFDC grants. Officials in other states report skepticism about the ability of their programs to produce AFDC savings but have no firm information. Meanwhile, although Oklahoma officials assert that they saved approximately $150,000 in net savings in one year, they still plan to reduce the size of their workfare program because of its high cost. New York officials believe that they have saved money from workfare while acknowledging that they have no data to support the belief (GAO, 1984: 36).

Judging whether workfare reduces net AFDC costs is also difficult because costs and saving differ by levels of government. For example, the cost of AFDC benefit payments is shared by the federal and state governments according to a formula that varies for each state by its average per capita income. On the average, the federal government pays 50 percent of the administrative costs, including CWEP administrative costs, for all the states, leaving them to finance the remaining 50 percent. Since the federal government pays 90 percent of administrative costs under the WIN program, the states that operate CWEP as a component of WIN, covering CWEP's administrative costs under the WIN funding ratio, pay only 10 percent of the administrative costs of CWEP. Meanwhile, they share almost equally with the federal government in whatever savings come from reducing what is paid out in AFDC grants because people leave AFDC as a result of participating in CWEP.

Long term AFDC savings might offset the initial increase in CWEP's costs. This is because the workfare concept expects savings from helping welfare recipients get jobs and from making AFDC ineligible for those individuals who are already able to find work. The workfare concept also expects nonfinancial benefits, including an improvement in the psychological well-being of the program's participants, the provision of a service of value to the community, and an enhancement of the image the public has of welfare programs.

The concept of workfare improving the "psychological well-being" of the participant needs further study. Goodwin in his book Do the Poor Want to Work? feels that "work training programs will be ineffective if poor people have little interest in working. And if they reject the importance of work, guaranteeing them an income might result in their leaving the work force" (Goodwin, 1972: 112).

To be effective, welfare and workfare policies for the poor must be based on knowledge of how poor people view life and work. The evidence from Goodwin's studies leads him to the following conclusion: "Poor people, males and females, blacks

and whites, youths and adults identify their self-esteem with work as strongly as do the nonpoor...They express as much willingness to take job training if unable to earn a living and to work even if they were to have an adequate income. This study reveals no differences between poor and nonpoor when it comes to life goals and wanting to work" (Goodwin, 1972: 112).

This conclusion may seem somewhat contrary. If poor persons, especially welfare recipients, really regard work as important for their self-esteem, why are they not working and moving out of poverty? Why are welfare rolls increasing rather than decreasing? There are no simple answers, however, each state is attempting to deal with these issues in their own ways.

A growing number of states have adopted some form of workfare. These states have been practically forced into the work-for-welfare idea by the federal government. California's adoption of a statewide workfare program in 1986 has restimulated public attention to the work for welfare concept in such a striking way that many additional states may be enticed into following the California model. When the Reagan administration made its first big push for workfare in the early eighties, there was a quick burst of enthusiasm for the the program not unlike the backwash from California's current workfare wave. Several additional states and localities were quickly brought into the workfare fold. Only nineteen states had workfare programs prior to that time. By 1983 when the first updated state by state survey of the status of workfare requirements was published, thirty-nine states had adopted some form of workfare.

As of July 1985, twenty-three states have opted to implement a WIN Demonstration project. For FY 1986, the Work Opportunities and Welfare (WOW) proposal required states to establish programs which mandate participation of currently eligible recipients and new AFDC applicants in job search and of AFDC recipients in other employment related programs. The Administration's WOW proposal would, for the first time, establish participation quotas for states under threat of sanction.

States and localities have been understandably leery of workfare in the past and their representatives have lobbied against such legislation. Their resentment no doubt would be increased by having a federally mandated program forced upon them by an administration ostensibly committed to local control. The administration has sought to silence this opposition and cut its financial losses by proposing that workfare be a state option (Joe, 1986: 8-10).

It is not clear if a federally mandated program would be financially advantageous, nor is it clear to which states. It would depend, in part, on which services a state chose to implement and at what levels. However, since its conception, workfare has been tested in many different times and places. More than three centuries after workfare was first introduced, American conservatives are again pursuing the goal of making welfare recipients work for their benefits.

For nearly two decades, the federal government has promised revisions in the system that now serves almost 11 million recipients in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program alone. About $110 billion in benefits are currently paid to enrollees in the several welfare programs (Workfare as Reform, 1986: 3). As that figure increased over the years, so did the conviction of many that welfare recipients should earn public assistance. With the federal and state governments looking to cut the $31

billion they are expected to spend on welfare programs this year, welfare reform is nearing the top of the national agenda (Williams, 1986: 109-111).

The basic issue confronting the 100th Congress will be whether— and how— to alter income-tested programs for families with children. Facing Congress also are the following questions: What minimum AFDC work requirements, if any, should Congress require states to implement? Who should pay the cost of work programs? To what extent, if any, should education be a component of work programs? Congress will be asked which families should receive benefits and how much, who should pay for these, what obligations should be imposed on recipients, and what services should be provided for them. One dilemma for Congress is how to help needy children without weakening family responsibility and work effort. Two primary goals of family welfare policy are widely shared but have proved elusive over the years: (1) to promote self-support and to decrease dependency on welfare, and (2) to reduce poverty (Burke, 1987). Periods of economic recession and high unemployment or high inflation frustrate both the goals of self-support and poverty reduction as does the rise in the proportion of children being raised by mothers alone.

In 1986 Congress introduced bills, some of which may be altered for the 100th Congress which approach the issue of work programs in different ways. The Federalism Act would require states to develop work programs and permit work relief. Like the Work Opportunities and Retraining Compact (WORC) of 1986 (H.R. 4929 and S. 2513), it would permit a recipient to refuse a job that decreased his income. The Work Incentive Amendments Act (H.R. 4986) would prohibit mandatory workfare and sharply expand WIN funding. All these bills would encourage and help fund education as an aid to employment (Burke, 1987).

Whether or not the new welfare reforms will see a reduction of AFDC, it is too early to tell. The Department of Health and Human Services lacks data on the number of AFDC recipients enrolled in CWEPs. The share of AFDC mothers with jobs has declined since Congress repealed the work incentive bonus. In March 1979, when the last national study of AFDC characteristics was made, 14.1% of AFDC mothers were working. In FY 83, the share of working mothers was 4.8% (monthly average), based on more limited data used for quality control purposes (Burke, 1987).

It is too early to tell whether the Administration's new proposed legislation will reduce the AFDC rolls. This paper gives arguments for and against the workfare concept, but history has proven that this mandatory work requirement concept does not work, as evidenced by the continuing rise in AFDC enrollment.

Conclusion

The term "workfare" was first used by President Nixon in his August 8, 1969, address to the nation on welfare reform. "What America needs now is not more welfare but more 'workfare,'" said the President. But the President did not mean working off one's grant. Workfare in the 1969 context referred to providing the training for work, the incentive to work, the opportunity to work, the reward for work (Solomon, 1987). It was not until the mid-1970s that the term "workfare" came to mean working off one's welfare grant. Before this time the practice of employing welfare recipients to earn their assistance check in whole or in part generally was termed "work relief."

Proponents of workfare programs maintain that a work assignment gives dignity to recipients and strengthens their claim for aid and that it provides a useful product for the taxpayer, builds skills and habits that help recipients move into paid work, provides a good example for their children, and may deter the "non-needy" from applying for welfare. They feel it will lower the cost of the total AFDC program by producing savings from case closings and grant reductions that are greater than the cost of operating the workfare program. Workfare will increase public support for welfare by requiring everyone who can work to do so.

Opponents maintain that unpaid work stigmatizes the poor, that workfare projects are expensive to operate, that a virtual job guarantee is needed to make the requirement real, that if the project produces something useful, it may displace other workers. They dispute the contention that non-needy persons are likely to apply for AFDC. They assert that the work experience obtained by recipients does not enhance employability because the jobs are often "make-work" and do not provide training that can help recipients find and keep jobs outside the welfare system. The program's make-work jobs lack social value. Paid employees lose their jobs and new employees are not hired because the "free" labor of welfare recipients is used instead. The administrative costs prevent the program from providing a net savings from the AFDC program. Workfare, opponents believe, can damage recipients' self-esteem if perceived as punitive.

If a workfare program is to be fair and effective, it would have to meet these seven criteria recommended by The National Association of Social Workers:

1. Pay no less than prevailing or, at least, minimum wage.
2. Provide a bonafide and necessary service.
3. Avoid displacement of other workers.
4. Give participants meaningful work experience and transferable skills.
5. Cost no more than a straight benefit payment.
6. Assure coverage of child-care and job-related expenses.
7. Offer a financial bonus or incentive for working.

A workfare program fulfilling these requirements would be welcomed by most public assistance recipients.

References

Bernstein, B.
1986 To end welfare fraud offer jobs. American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 45, 1.

Burke, V.
1987 Welfare (IB 87007) Washington, D.C.: Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Division.

Committee on Ways and Means.
1986 Work, education and training opportunities for welfare recipients. (Serial 99-91). Hearings before the Subcommittee on Public Assistance. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Government Accounting Office.
1984 CWEP Implementation: Mandatory Work Requirements (GA 1.13: PEMD-84/2). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Goodwin, L.
1983 Causes and Cures of Welfare. Boston: DC Heath and Company.

Goodwin, L.
1981 "Can Workfare work?" Public Welfare, 39(4).

Goodwin, L.
1972 Do the poor want to work? Boston: DC Heath and Company.

Gueron, J.
1986 "Work for people on welfare: interim findings of a major MDRC study show the potential of state employment programs." Public Welfare, 44(1).

Joe, B.
1981 "What's wrong with workfare and why did it fail in California?" NASW News, 26(8).

Levy, B.
Staffers Guide to Current Welfare Reform.

Mead, L.
1983 "Expectations and welfare work: WIN in NYC." Policy Studies Review, 2(4).

Sanger, M.
1984 "Generating employment for AFDC mothers." Social Service Review, 58(1).

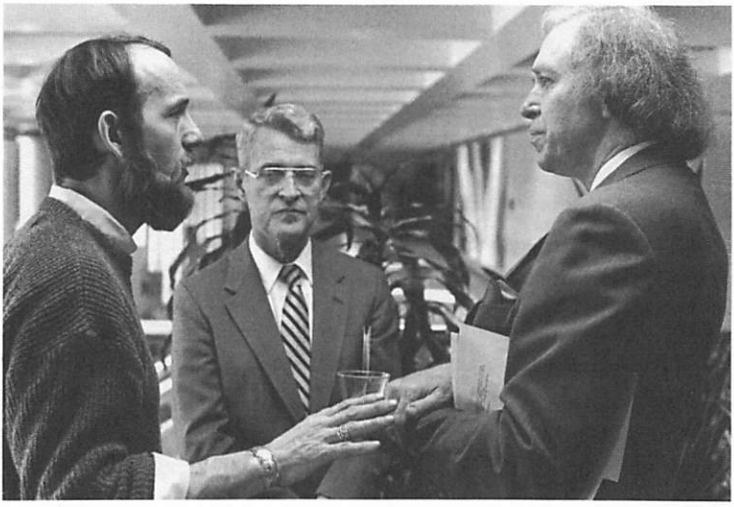
Solomon, C.
1987 AFDC work and training issues. (IB86094). Washington, DC: Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Division.

1986 "Workfare and foul play." Fortune, (April:12)

1986 "Workfare as reform: Question of Intent." NASW News, (1986). 31(7).

Williams, M.
"Is workfare the answer?" Fortune, (October).

Wolf-Jones, L.
1983 "Mother's role in AFDC family is shifting." NASW News, 28(8).



UAA President O' Dowd and UAA professors Hood and Belden discuss the Showcase.

A musical interlude at the Showcase luncheon.

The Office of Public Advocacy CASA Program

Kaye Knight

Abstract

The Office of Public Advocacy has been providing guardian ad litem services in Anchorage since 1985. Recently the Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA) program which uses volunteer guardian ad litems gained permanent status when House Bill 7 was passed, validating the effectiveness of the program as a child advocacy effort in Alaska. The objective of this paper is to trace the history, the development and the impact of the Court Appointed Special Advocates as a child welfare system in Alaska. Duquette and Ramsey have researched the delivery and effectiveness of this service in other states. Their research study substantiated the effectiveness of Court Appointed Special Advocate involvement in Child In Need of Aid petitions. Professionals working with the Court Appointed Special Advocates were surveyed to determine the effectiveness of the program. The guardian ad Litem program through the Office of Public Advocacy is one step closer to fulfilling the needs of the children involved in the court system.

Introduction

Court Appointed Special Advocates (CASA) is a volunteer guardian ad Litem program for children who are in some way entangled with the court system due to abuse or neglect. The development of this child welfare program has been the direct result of many people interested in making a difference in the lives of these children. This paper will discuss some of the history of the CASA program, the important legislation, and some of the differences this program is making in child welfare services. The following chart is a visual definition of the process in which a Child In Need of Aid (CINA) petition appears before the court.

Cina proceedings

Report of Harm
Social worker Investigation
Substantiated, Unsubstantiated & Close case
Informal Service, Remove Child from Home

Kaye Knight's paper was completed for Social Work 409, "Child Welfare," Eileen Lally, Professor, UAA Social Work Department.

Child Remains Home
CINA filed (Office of Public Advocacy is appointed)
Probable Cause Hearing

The CASA is Appointed

Interim Case Conference (ICC) Review Hearing
Adjudication
ICC/Review Hearing
Disposition
ICC, (or) Review Hearing, (or) Relinquishment, (or) Termination Rights
Annual Review (Montgomery, 1987:16)

History of the Child Advocacy Movement

Many people from different professional fields have been associated with child welfare reform, seeking better conditions for children through legislation. The public became aware of child abuse in 1874 in the form of "little Mary Ellen". This foster child was cruelly beaten and neglected by a couple with whom she had lived since infancy. At that time children were considered chattel and the only laws dealing with abuse were to protect animals. These laws were invoked to protect "Mary Ellen". Child abuse became a national issue in the early 1960's when Dr. C. Henry Kempe, a pediatrician, identified multiple non-accidental injuries in various stages of healing as the "battered child syndrome" (Kempe, 1962:17). As the public began to identify "battered children", children began to have rights accorded to them:

> "We owe the child the right to be wanted, the right to life, and the right to grow up in the loving care of both a father and a mother; we owe him, further, the right to grow up in a family that has sufficient resources to meet his basic need" (Kadushin, 1980:62).

Society's ideas about children began to change. As a direct result of this new awareness, mandatory legislation for reporting child abuse was passed.

Legislating child protection laws was a good start, but children were still getting caught in the "system" - the legal social welfare system. No one was really looking out for the child's best interest. In 1960 the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth recognized the need of advocacy for children. From this conference came the recommendation that states begin to enact legislation for a single agency to be responsible for all the child abuse and neglect cases. Approximately 90 years after the first case of child abuse, the following four Federal laws were written to protect children.

- The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974
- The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974

- The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978
- The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980

The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act in 1974 (P.L. 93-247) relates to children involved with the judicial system and is the only one of the laws discussed here. This Act listed the provision of a *guardian ad Litem* as one of its ten requirements for states receiving federal grants. This legislation ties federal funding for a child welfare-related service to a requirement that the states will assure children of individual representation in all judicial proceedings which effect their welfare. However, the Act made no provision for funding the *guardian ad Litem;* therefore, judges have been forced to improvise. According to Davidson, in a report written for "Children Today", many states permit a non-lawyer to serve as a GAL and judges have frequently decided that people with other professional backgrounds are even better prepared than attorneys to protect the interest of abused children (Davidson, 1981:21).

In January 1977, the first volunteer guardian ad Litem program began under the auspices of the Honorable David W. Soukup and under the direction of Carmen Ray-Bettineski in King County in Seattle, Washington. Judge Soukup visualized a program of trained advocates to determine the "best interest" of abused and neglected children. This program would insure each child a courtroom advocate to promote permanency planning and avoid "foster care drift." By 1981 this program was not only a national model, but various similar programs around the United States organized a National network called National Court Appointed Special Advocates (NCASA) with Ms. Ray-Bettineski serving as Executive Director. In 1988, NCASA has almost 250 member programs.

In 1984 the Alaskan legislature created the Office of Public Advocacy (OPA). OPA provides criminal defense representation for indigent clients, public guardian services and guardian ad litem services. Alaska was previously compliant with the PL 93-247 by using attorneys on contract with the court system to provide guardian ad Litem services. In 1984, the legislature put the service in the Office of Public Advocacy, who use paid staff (attorneys and non-attorneys) to represent Child in Need of Aid cases. Two years later in 1986, OPA began to use CASA's to provide this service for some children.

Through the efforts of Pamela Montgomery, an MSW social worker, working with Philip J. McCarthy, an Anchorage attorney and a child advocate, the third piece of the Office of Public Advocacy came into being. The purpose of this program has been summed up in the *CASA* Mission Statement:

> The Office of Public Advocacy CASA Program exists for the purpose of providing trained volunteers to represent the best interests of vulnerable persons, particularly children, within the court system and the community (Montgomery, 1987:iii)

The guardian ad litem child welfare service at the Office of Public Advocacy in Alaska was recently given statutory authority with the passage of House Bill 7 by the

legislature. In Alaska currently, a GAL is a paid state employee or contractor, while a CASA is a trained and supervised volunteer. A CASA has the same job description as a GAL - conducting independent investigation into a child's case and then reporting to the court about "the best interests of the child."

Research on the Delivery and Effectiveness of the Service

Due to the fact the program is fairly new and also due to lack of funds, the Anchorage CASA program has not been able to perform a comprehensive research study regarding the effectiveness of its program. However, outside of Alaska, there have been numerous research projects done by various CASA programs. The Anchorage CASA program receives copies of these research projects and uses the information to gain new ideas. Research projects help keep the program on the cutting edge of new modalities.

Donald D. Duquette, J.D. and Sarah H. Ramsey completed a research study comparing the effectiveness of trained volunteer advocates to attorneys with no special training concerning children. This study accomplished three purposes. First it defined the role of a child advocate and the best interest of the child. The second purpose it accomplished was to provide training in the child advocate role to demonstration groups of attorneys, law students and lay volunteers: and finally the study compared the effectiveness of each demonstration group in representing the best interest of children.

The Duquette and Ramsey study found that trained volunteers could represent children in child abuse and neglect cases as well as trained professionals. In fact, the study suggested that trained volunteers could achieve greater success than attorneys who had no specialized training in child advocacy.

The National CASA Association in Seattle, Washington conducted a National Management Survey of 135 known CASA programs. This survey helped in the design of the National CASA Association's five Regional Management Training Seminars, national conferences, national volunteer recruitment campaign, volunteer and program director newsletters, and in the provision of technical assistance. Some examples of the variables tested were:

1. Number of volunteers, staff, cases assigned, children served in each program, and various cost factors,
2. Type of funding for the program,
3. Initial and ongoing training being provided for the volunteers.
4. Types of cases that are assigned to CASA's,
5. Effectiveness of the CASA's.

On a national and local level, surveys such as this one have helped set the standards for CASA programs. For people interested in starting a CASA program in their community, this survey provided a framework of knowledge concerning what programs models work most effectively for volunteer recruitment, what are the costs of various program models, where to find possible funding sources, what kind of training is needed for volunteers, and what type of cases can be assigned to CASA's.

Over 103 programs responded to the Management survey. (This is a response rate of 76 percent.) One-fourth of the CASA programs responding were less than one year old and 75 percent of the programs were under three years old. Half of the CASA programs had three staff or less and fewer than 25 volunteers, operating on a budget under $30,000 for 1985. For the first half of 1985, 43 percent of the CASA programs had fewer than 25 cases assigned, with the average of 10 cases a month. The average cost per case is $600, larger programs have a lower average cost per case than smaller programs.

In 1984 the American Humane Association cited 253,869 petitions filed on behalf of abused and neglected children. The NCASA survey respondents estimated 10,620 cases were assigned to CASA's. Abuse and neglect account for 60 percent of the total number of cases with the remaining 40 percent divided between status offenders, and custody disputes in divorce and delinquency.

Aside from using outside research, the Anchorage CASA office keeps statistics which show how much time the CASA volunteer is spending monitoring their cases, what type of cases are being handled by CASA's, how many formal court proceedings they have attended, and how much training they are receiving. By showing the effectiveness of the program, these statistics help justify funding and explain the need for the program to exist.

The CASA program in Alaska is entering it's second year of service. Looking back at the statistics of the cases from April 1987 to November 1987, an eight month period, the CASA program recruited and trained 41 volunteers. These CASAs provided 862 hours of services to 78 children. This is an average of 1.33 hours per child per week. Statistics show that of the children: 41% were physically abused, 32% had parents that were chemically dependent and 56% were from lower income families (AFDC eligible). In addition, 49% were placed in foster homes. Forty percent of the children were white, while 40% where Alaskan Native (Office of Public Advocacy, Statistics).

In February 1988, Pamela Montgomery, the Director of the CASA program in Alaska designed a survey to evaluate the perceived effectiveness of the CASA program. Norma Mahlberg and the author, conducted telephone interviews of 20 CASAs and 30 professionals in child welfare including 24 Division of Family and Youth Services social workers, 4 assistant attorney generals and 2 public defenders. Of the professionals contacted, four had not worked with a CASA yet, so they were excluded from the research.

The professionals surveyed viewed CASA involvement with their cases as *very helpful (23%)* or *helpful (73%)*. Forty percent of the CASAs viewed their involvement with cases as *very helpful* while 50% of the CASA believed they are *helpful*.

The professionals (P.) and the CASAs (C.) perceived the effectiveness of CASA involvement on cases as *very effective* or *effective* in the following areas: advocating for the child's best interest (P. 97% C. 85%), case monitoring (P. 77% C. 95%), suggesting case plan changes (P. 70% C. 80%), developing and maintaining a relationship with the minor (P. 65% C. 75%), assisting clients to gain access to services (P. 60% C. 65%), advocating for reasonable permanency planning efforts (P. 58% C. 75%) and case investigation (P. 57% C. 90%).

The CASA program is not only effective in delivering services but, by using the CASA program, OPA can save money. A recent cost analysis report by OPA, provided the following information.

ESTIMATED SAVINGS 1987

(actual CASA hours)		488	560	1048
STAFF ATTORNEY	$39/HR	$19,032	$21,840	$40,872
STAFF MSW	$28/HR	$13,664	$15,680	$29,344
CONTRACT ATTORNEY	$65/HR	$31,720	$36,400	$68,120
CONTRACT MSW	$25/HR	$12,200	$14,000	$26,200

A CASA averages 1.33 hours per week for each child and usually has two cases. The estimated total time 60 CASA's will spend on 120 children in a year's time is 8,300 hours.

PROJECTED SAVINGS YEARLY

STAFF GAL ATTORNEY	$323,700
STAFF GAL MSW	$232,400
CONTRACT GAL ATTORNEY	$539,500
CONTRACT GAL MSW	$207,500

Summary

There is an unspoken agreement that children should not be abused. However, deciding what constitutes abuse, or neglect is a difficult job and that is where the CASAs enable the court system to make appropriate decisions for the children in the CINA cases by providing extensive and intensive investigation and monitoring. The CASA program shows a lot of promise. The perception of CASAs performance by the professionals in child welfare services is very effective. CASAs are making a positive change in the child welfare system. Now, as a society, we have laws intended to protect the "little Mary Ellen's" of the world and the CASA has become a useful advocate for the welfare of such vulnerable children.

References

Davidson, Howard A.
1981 "The guardian ad Litem: An important approach to the protection of children." Children Today March-April.

Duquette, Donald N.
1985 "Using lay volunteers to represent children in child protection court proceed ings." Child Abuse and Neglect (10).

Goldstein, Joseph
1979 Beyond the Best Interest of the Child. New York: Free Press.

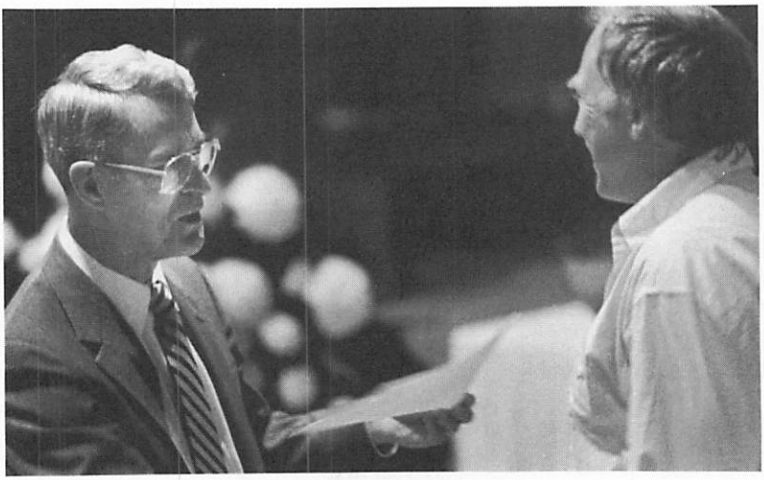
Issacs, J.
1972 "The role of the lawyer in child abuse cases." in C.H. Kempe and R. Helfer, Eds., Helping the Abused Child and His Family. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Kadushin, Alfred
1980 Child Welfare Services. New York: MacMillian Publishing Co.

Kempe, C.H.
1962 "The battered child syndrome", Journal of the American Medical Association.

Miller, L.C. and Wolff, Dick
1986 "Management guidelines for CASA programs nationwide," U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Montgomery, Pamela and Still, Elizabeth
1987 CASA Training Manual.



UAA President O' Dowd presents award to student presenter, Art Davidson.

Tog the Twelve-tone Frog for Tamara
A Musical Composition

Mary Bustamante

Abstract

The piano composition presented in this project is meant to be a gift to the imagination of a certain ten-year old girl who exhibits a sensitivity to music. "Tog and the Twelve-tone Frog" is an introduction of new musical sounds to her ears. It is composed using the twelve-tone technique of serial composition .

The piano composition created for this project is the product of structure and imagination. Twelve-tone composition has a certain structure built into the method of composition that can lend a unifying order to a piece of music. Tonally, the sounds produced using twelve-tone composition are unusual to ears that have performed and listened to the harmonies of Bach, Mozart, and traditional folk songs, making it an apt vehicle to stretch the imagination of young ears. This composition is also the result of an observation of a woodland frog. A fantasized sequence of events between the child, Tamara, and the frog, Tog, apply to different moods in different sections of this piece.

Since the twelve-tone or serial technique comprises the compositional method used to write "Tog," a brief description and history of the development of serialism is included in order to put the description of its composition into the proper perspective. Serial composition utilizes a tone row built from the twelve half-steps of pitch that occur within an octave. Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) developed this technique between 1920-21. The International Mahler League, of which Schoenberg was elected president, was formed during these years and is associated with promoting the serial technique (New Groves, 1980: 702-3). He emerges as a composer-theorist in a transition period between a very chromaticized extension of romantic ideas and the musical styles of the twentieth century. Even though atonalism, or the use of all musical tones with equal weight, emerges a full fifteen years before 1920, it did not become a formal compositional technique until this time (Brindle, 1972: 2-3). Schoenberg's first attempt to use serial technique occurs in March, 1920, in the form of an orchestral passacaglia. His use of the twelve-tone row is conservative in that he does not abandon tonality and the use of thematic material within the row. It is interesting to note that Anton Webern and Alban Berg, two serialist composers, were students of Arnold Schoenberg in 1904 at the Stern Conservatory in Germany (New Groves, 1980: 704-08). Both composers made contributions to the development of this compositional method, Berg with his famous violin concerto in 1935 and Webern with the song Schleise mir die Augen Beide. Both composers also utilize rows in which the weight of several tonal centers can be felt. Later

Mary Bustamante's composition was written for "Independent Study in Composition," George Belden, Professor, UAA.

in the development of this method Ernst Krenek would set rules designating the avoidance of thirds and scale passages within a tone row (Brindle, 1972: 6-13). Igor Stravinsky, a well-known twentieth-century composer, uses tone rows in much of his music, both in full and short, five-note forms. His composition Canticum Sacrum combines the use of the tone row with the choral forms of the Renaissance.

Serial composition requires the composer to construct the row and to a large extent create his own rules to suit the needs of expression. Even if a twentieth-century composer desires to progress to a free writing system in the non-traditional, atonal style, serialism provides a basis to depart from.

> "...serialism contains so many of the compositional principles involved in free writing that it can be regarded as the best discipline a student can undergo in order to have a full command of modern compositional techniques" (Brindle, 1972: 3).

Many inspired musical works have been created from a plan, either in aspects of form and rhythm or in the aspect of a plan according to pitch level and interval within the work. Bach's Goldberg Variations and Bartok's Music for Strings, Percussion, and Celeste are examples of works utilizing plans of the intervallic application of the canon and a planned structure of intervals within the piece. A composer needs to take in consideration the purpose that his or her composition has been created to fulfill. The style, medium, motives, mood, length, tempo, and climax of harmonic tension are just a few of the considerations that can be taken. Extra-musical considerations, such as associating certain embellishments with specific moods and certain tone rows with certain messages such as liberty or death, have been used as a creative structure or tool. Examples of these are the appogiatura symbolizing the sigh (Kohs, 1980: 1-13) and the tone rows of "liberty" and "hope" used by Dallapiccola in his opera Il Prigioniero.

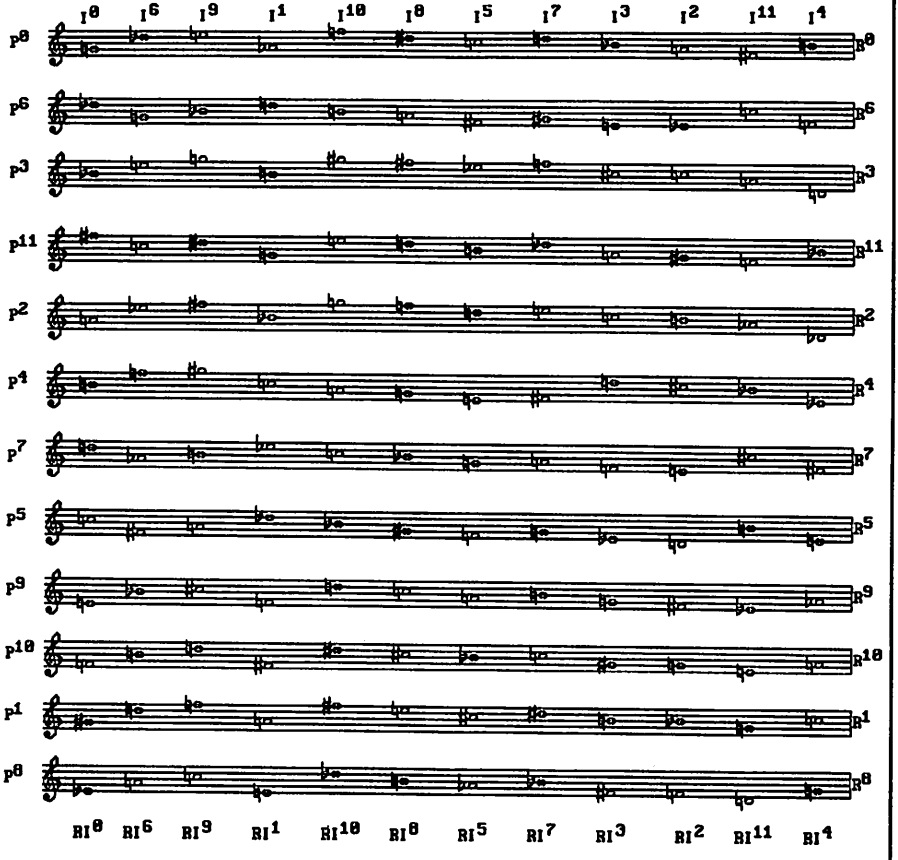
The steps used in composing "Tog" started with identifying the purpose of this composition. "Tog" was intended to appeal to Tamara's natural appreciation for dance forms and to remind her of the pet she had observed this summer. The range, or spacing of notes within the left and right hand parts needed to be limited to one octave in order to accommodate her hand size. The sounds in this piece were planned to expose her ears to the new sounds of twelve-tone composition and also to depict a scene in the listener's imagination. However, the decision was made to use a more traditional and tonal row so that the contrast between the classical piano music she plays and this composition would not be too severe. See figure 1.

The second step in composing this piece and planning it was to write a tone row containing the twelve half-steps in the octave from g natural to the octave above g natural. Any octave or enharmonic spelling (exp: d sharp or e flat) of the row can be used in the composition as long as all the pitches in the row, from the first to the twelfth are used in sequence before the row is repeated. The prime row on which this piece is built can be found on the top line of the attached matrix on the following page and is labeled, P^o. The row is used in four groups of three.

g d e / a f d#m or e /c d b /a f b

The first three notes form a diminished triad. The second three notes form a minor seventh chord, without the fifth, built on f-natural. The third group of notes forms a g

Figure 1. "TOG" TWELVE-TONE MATRIX



P = Prime form of the row; read left to right
I = Inverted form of the row; read top to bottom
R = Retrograde form of the row; read right to left
RI = Retrograde Inversion form of the row; read bottom to top

minor third with a possible suspension. The fourth set of three notes forms a major-minor seventh chord built on b natural. These note groups are not chords within a key but they can lend "Tog" a harmonic structure nearer to what we are used to hearing. These note groupings are used for supporting structure underneath the melody in this piece.

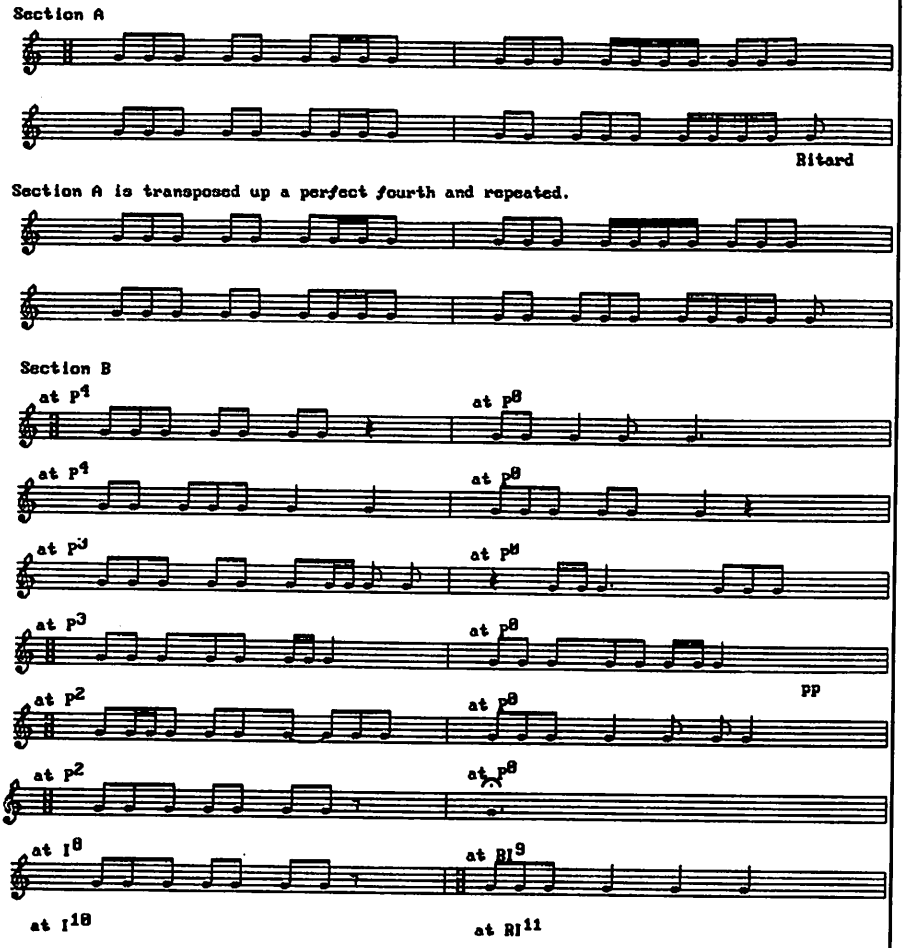
The third step in composing "Tog" was to expand the prime row into the matrix on the following page. There are four versions of the row on this matrix, each transposed to every available half-step in the prime row. Prime (P) is the original sequence of the row and can be located on the top line of the matrix, reading from left to right. The retrograde (R) form of the row refers to the exact same line of pitches, the top line, only read from right to left. The inversion (I) of the original row can be located by reading the pitches from the top to the bottom along the left margin. The sequence of intervals between the pitches in the prime row are reversed. For example if a row started on g-natural and the second note was a b-flat, three half-steps up from g-natural, in the inverted form of the row would start on g-natural and the second note would be e-natural, three half-steps below the note. In the matrix for "Tog" the second note is d-flat, six half-steps above the starting pitch of g natural. However, in the inverted form of the row, the second pitch is also d-flat, six half-steps below the starting pitch of g-natural. The fourth row form is called the retrograde inversion and is simply the inversion row read backwards. On the matrix, RI^{o} can be read from the bottom to the top along the left margin. P^{o}, R^{o}, I^{o}, and RI^{o} refer to the original forms of these rows. P^{1}, R^{1}, I^{1}, and RI^{1} refers to these same sequences of intervals starting on a g-sharp for P^{1} and I^{1} forms on a b-natural for R^{1} and an e-flat for RI^{1}. The number designates how many half-steps the original row form is being transposed.

The fourth planning step used to compose "Tog" was the construction of a rhythmical outline for the piece. An illustration of this outline is attached. Different row forms were assigned to the rhythm pattern outline. Different row forms were assigned to the rhythm pattern outline. See figure 2.

There are two main sections with a codetta. Unusual and uneven rhythms work well with serial composition and fit the mood of "Tog". An 8/8 meter is used in the first section using a rhythm pattern of four measures that is repeated. In the second section, or lento section, the rhythm pattern was changed during the actual composition. Hints of the rhythm pattern in the first section can be heard in the codetta.

The first four measures use all four forms of the row: P^{o}, R^{o}, I^{o}, and RI^{o}. This pattern is repeated in the second four measures: P^{5}, R^{5}, I^{5}, and RI^{5}. This transposes the first phrase up a perfect fourth. At measure ten the tonal pattern changes to the following alternating pattern: P^{4}-P^{o}-P^{4}-P^{o}. Each row is used within one measure and this pattern is continued to measure twenty-two in the following alternation of rows: P^{3}-P^{o}-P^{3}-P^{o}; P^{2}-P^{o}-P^{2}-P^{o}. The technique of alternating descending versions of the prime row with the prime row has a settling effect. At measure twenty-two a new pattern is used, still working with one row form within a measure: I^{8}-RI^{9}-I^{10}-RI^{11}. The eleventh degree of the RI starts on a pitch a perfect fourth below the original prime pitch of g natural. This row form, RI^{11}, ends on an F#, just one half-step below g natural. This does employ a certain feeling of cadence not normally used in serial composition. The codetta that ends the piece uses the following row forms, starting at measure twenty-six: P^{o}-I^{o}-P^{4}-P^{o}. The last chord is constructed of pitches that form interlocking perfect fifths: P^{1}(g), P^{5}(c), P^{2}(a), and P^{7}(d).

Figure 2. "TDG" RHYTHM STRUCTURE



Codetta will use a variety of forms from Section A.

In the process of this composition, structure and imagination have been united. This piece is meant to be a journey through the imagination of the composer, the performer, and the listener. It is an attempt to communicate a specific feeling and mental image through the medium of logical thought and sound. The twelve-tone technique used to compose "Tog" is only a tool of creative expression. Creating an art form within structure of any kind is infinitely more difficult, unified, and satisfying than free from expression without structure. Ultimately, this piece called "Tog the Twelve-tone Frog for Tamara" is dependent on the imagination of the performers and listeners after its composition. See figure 3.

References

Brindle, Reginal Smith

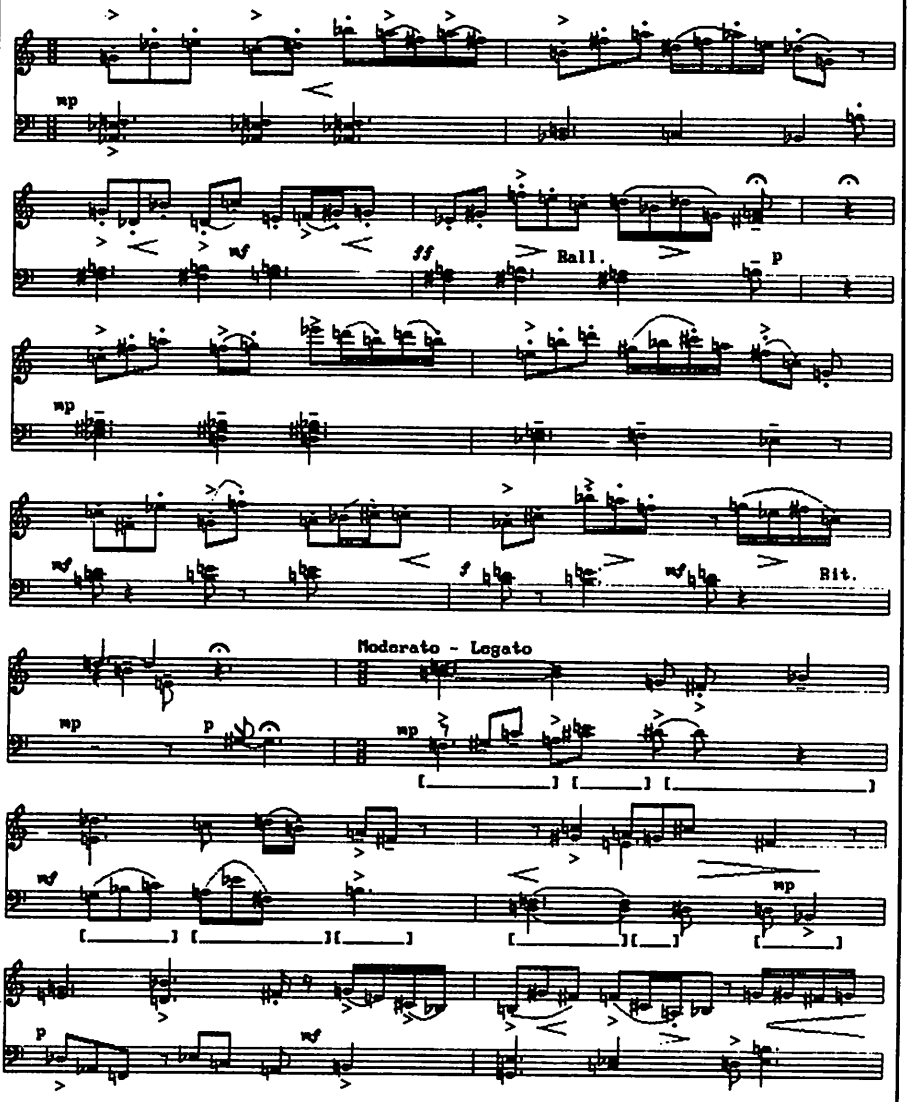
1972 Serial Composition. London: Oxford University Press.
Kohs, Ellis B.

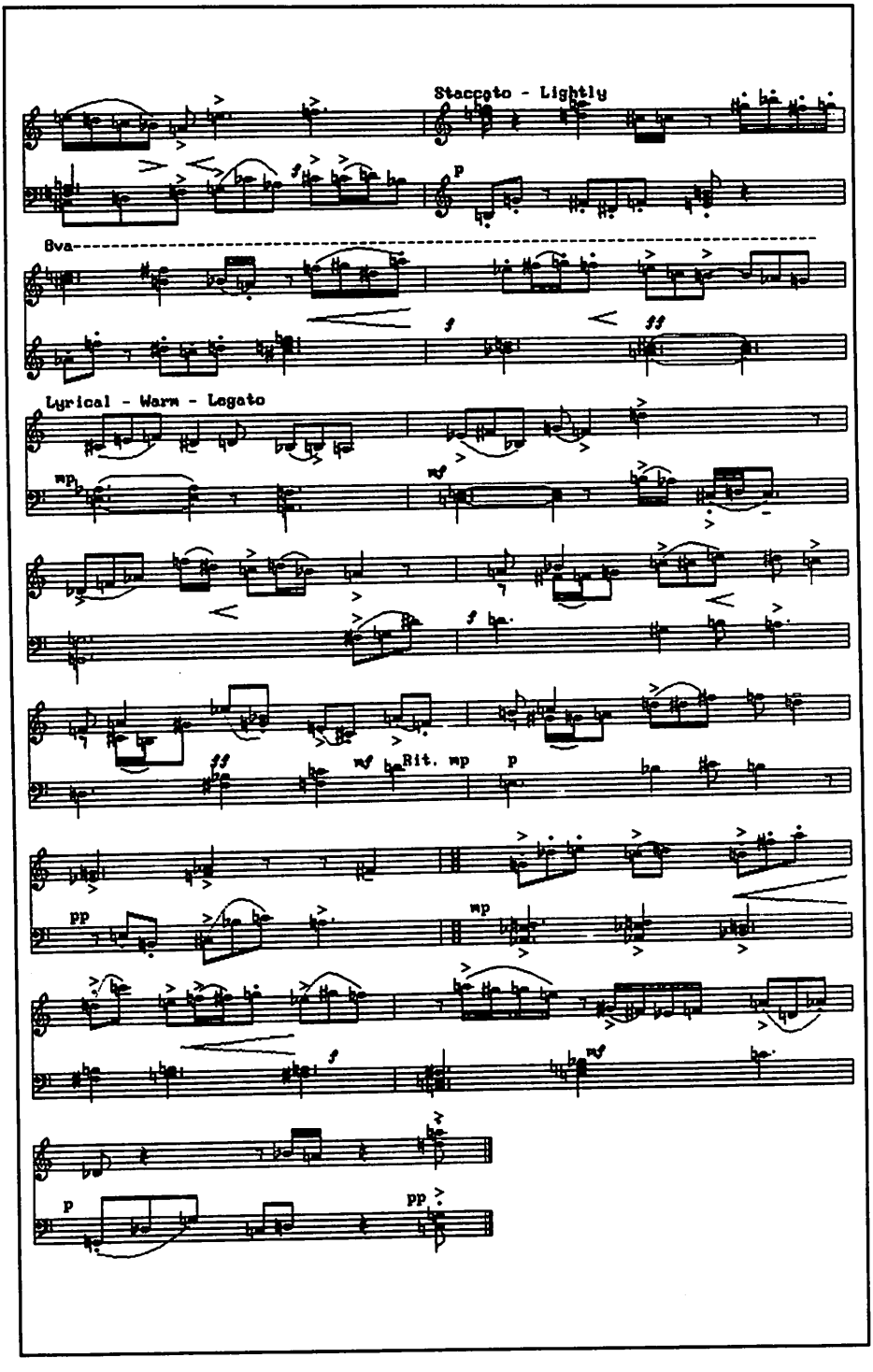
1980 Musical Composition-Projects in Ways and Means. New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians

1980 Arnold Shoenberg. Volume 6. London: The MacMIllam Publishing Company.

Figure 3, TOG THE TWELVE TONE FROG FOR TAMARA




Staccato - Lightly
8va
Lyrical - Warm - Legato
Rit.

Teaching Children About Sexual Abuse Through Ventriloquism: A Personal Safety Unit for K-1

Lynda Lu Hall

Lynda Lu Hall and Andy

Abstract

The issue of prevention in sexual abuse of children is addressed through the technique of ventriloquism. Lynda Lu Hall (a ventriloquist) uses Andy (a dummy) to teach children concepts such as "My body belongs to me; I can say no to touches I don't like; and I can decide who touches me." Concepts are strengthened for long term retention by teaching songs that Andy has written. The unit is designed to be incorporated into programs such as health and social skills in regular school curriculums.

Introduction and Purpose

In the past ten years there has been an increased concern about the number of children who are being sexually assaulted. As a reaction to this concern there have been many tools developed for teaching children how to protect themselves from sexual abuse. One place these materials have been introduced is in the school system.

Lynda Lu Hall's unit was completed for Sociology 497, "Independent Sudy," Sharon K. Araji, Professor, UAA Sociology Department.

The purpose of this project is to develop a unit to teach K-1 children concepts that will, hopefully, enable them to protect themselves from becoming a sexual abuse victim and/or offender. The concepts that are covered in the unit include, among others, children own their own bodies, they have the right to decide who touches their bodies, they have the right to say "no" to touches they don't like, differences between comfortable, uncomfortable, safe, and unsafe touches, and that they have the right to get away and tell.

Method

A unique method of teaching the above-noted concepts is developed around the use of "Andy", a dummy operated by Lynda Lu Hall. Through the use of instruction given to children by "Andy", the concepts are introduced and then reinforced by teaching the children songs that include the concepts. Further, this method has been put onto video tapes which can be used in the classroom setting.

The unit is only one of a total curriculum that is currently being developed for K-6. The objectives, materials, procedures, narrative, and evaluation for the K-1 unit follow.

I. LESSON 1: "IT'S MY BODY!"

Objectives:

1. To introduce the concept that your body belongs to you.
2. To introduce the concept that you have the right to decide who touches you.
3. To introduce the concept that you have the right to say "No" to touches you don't like.
4. To introduce the concept of different types of touches such as: comfortable/uncomfortable, safe/unsafe, and confusing.
5. To introduce the song, "I Can Say No!"

Materials:
Student Materials: None needed for the first lesson.

Teacher Materials: "Andy", if done by author of plan.
Video of Andy if done by classroom teacher.
Music lead sheet for song, "I Can Say No."
Cassette of music for practicing song with children.

Procedure: Narration by Lynda Lu and script.
Narrative: " We all like to feel comfortable and happy, right? Well, there are some times when things might happen to us that might make us feel uncomfortable and even unhappy. I have a very special guest with me today who wants to talk to you about something that is very important to each of us, ways that we can help ourselves to be safe, comfortable and happy. This special guest is called Andy."

Lesson: To be taught by the following script. LL represents the ventriloquist, Lynda Lu, and A represents Andy.

LL Andy, we are here today to talk to the boys and girls about something very important, do you remember what it is?

A No, give me a hint will you?

LL Remember we're going to teach the boys and girls about personal safety.

A I knew that all along, I was just checking to see if you knew!

LL Alright, Andy, since you know what we are going to teach today, would you mind beginning please?

A I'd be most happy to. Boys and girls, do you know that your body belongs to you? That's right, it does, and my body belongs to me.

LL Andy, what does your body have to do with teaching the boys and girls about personal safety?

A Be patient, be patient, I'm getting to it! If you know that your body belongs to you and to you alone, then when something happens to it that you don't like, you have the right to say something about it!

LL I'm not sure I understand what you mean Andy, could you please explain this a little more to me?

A Well, let's take an example. Let's say that you were out on the playground and someone came up to you and pushed you real hard. You wouldn't like it that much, would you?

LL No, I guess I wouldn't.

A Well, it is YOUR body that got pushed, and your body belongs to you. So, you have the right to say something about it.

LL What would you say if someone pushed you real hard and you didn't like it?

A I would tell them to, "stop that, I don't like it."

LL So what you are telling the boys and girls and me, is that your body belongs to you and if something happens to your body that you don't like, you have the right to tell the person to stop?

A That's what I just said, isn't it?

LL I just wanted to be sure.

A You have the right to decide who touches your body, and when someone touches you in a way that you don't like, you have the right to say "No, stop that, I don't like what you are doing!"

LL Well Andy, it's good to know that we all have the right to say no to touches we don't like.

A And it is real important to practice saying "NO," too.

LL Why would it be important to practice saying 'NO', Andy, can't you just say "No?"

A Sure you can, but it might be harder for some people, especially boys and girls, because they may have to say no to an adult—a bigger person—sometime, and that's pretty hard to do.

LL So what are you suggesting that the boys and girls do?

A Well, I thought we could just practice saying no in our "very important voices." Could we practice it just once, huh, could we, could we?

LL Of course, Andy, go ahead.

A Ready boys and girls? Let's practice saying "NO" in our very important voices. Okay? Ready? When I say three. Altogether now, one, two, three, "NO!" Wow! That was just great boys and girls, you did just great. Now don't forget to say "NO" just like that when someone touches your body in a way that you don't like!

LL Andy, I think it is really good to teach the boys and girls to say "No" to touches they don't like, but there are so many different types of touches, how do you tell them all apart?

A What kind of touches do you mean?

LL Well, there's comfortable touches, uncomfortable touches, safe, unsafe, and confusing touches.

A I see what you mean, there are alot of different kinds of touches.

LL Can you tell the boys and girls how to tell the difference, and what to do about the different types of touches

A You bet! Let's take a comfortable touch. Now if you had a grandmother that you loved very much, and she gave you a hug and you liked it, that would be an example of a comfortable touch.

LL I see, so comfortable touches are okay?

A Say, who's the dummy here anyway? Of course comfortable touches are okay! Boy, do I have to teach you EVERYTHING?

LL Now Andy, be polite.

A Okay, I'm sorry.

LL What about uncomfortable touches Andy? Can you give us an example of those?

A Hmm. Let's pretend you're walking down the hall and someone you don't know very well walks up to you and puts their arm around you. They are not hurting you, but you just don't feel very comfortable about it.

LL Then what should the boys and girls do if this should happen to them?

A They should say "Please, don't do that , I don't like it."

LL In their very important voice?

A Yes, in their very important voice.

LL What about safe and unsafe touches Andy?

A A safe touch is one that can be of help to you. An unsafe touch could be the kind of touch that could hurt you, like getting hit, or tickled until it hurts, or dunking someone in the swimming pool could also be an unsafe touch.

LL There sure are lots of ways of being touched aren't there, Andy? It seems real important to know the difference too, do we don't go around saying, "No" to every touch, even those that we like and want.

A That's right. There is one more touch and it is really a hard one to describe.

LL What is it Andy?

A It is a touch that is confusing.

LL Why is it so hard to describe?

A Well, a confusing touch can be different for everybody. It can happen sometimes when you are getting a comfortable touch, and it changes into a touch that makes you not quite sure.

LL What do you mean, "not quite sure?"

A Let's say you were getting a touch from someone, and you thought it was comfortable, but they kept on touching you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable, like you wanted then to stop, but you just weren't sure why.

LL If you were experiencing a confusing touch, Andy, what could you do?

A Remember your body belongs to you , you have the right to decide who touches you, the right to say "no," to touches you don't like, and that includes touches that are confusing.

LL Andy do you have any special way to help the boys and girls remember what you have taught them today?

A I sure do! I wrote a song just for the boys and girls, and I would like to sing it for them right now.

LL Fine, Andy. You go right ahead.

A Maestro, may I have some music please? (Andy sings, "I Can Say No")

I Can Say No

I can say no, I can say no
To touches I don't like.
I can say no, I can say no
To touches not quite right.

When someone touches you
In a way that you don't like.
It's okay to say "no,"
Say no with all your might!

Repeat verse once

Last ending:
It's okay to say "no,"
Say "no" with all your might!

Evaluation

1. Andy quizzes the boys and girls over the concepts that were presented in lesson to reinforce and determine retention; and/or;
2. A short written evaluation tool can be used by the classroom teacher (currently in process of development.)

II. LESSON PLAN 2: "I CAN SAY NO."

Objectives:

1. To review concepts presented in first lesson.
2. To introduce the concept "private parts," and the anatomical names for each.
3. To review the song "I Can Say No".

Materials:

Student Materials: Wall chart or individual work sheets with a boy and a girl on sheet, for recognition of private parts; and/or anatomically correct dolls for use in the classroom setting.

Teacher Materials: "Andy" if done by author of plan. Video of Andy if done by classroom teacher. Music lead sheet for song, "I Can Say No". Cassette of music for practicing song with children.

Procedure: Use anticipatory set and script.
Anticipatory set: Boys and girls, do you remember what we learned last time? That's right, we talked about our bodies belonging to ourselves, having the right to decide who touches us, the right to say "no," to touches we don't like, and the different kinds of touches such as, comfortable, uncomfortable, safe, unsafe, and confusing touches. Today we are going to talk about special places on our bodies called "private parts."

Lesson: To be taught by the following script.

LL Andy, are you ready to talk to the boys and girls?

A Of course I am.

LL Do you remember what we talked about last time?

A Sure I do. We taught the boys and girls that their body belongs to them, and that they have the right to decide who touches their body.

LL Good. Did we teach them anything else?

A Oh, yes. We also taught them that boys and girls have the right to say "no," to touches they don't like, that are uncomfortable, unsafe and confusing.

LL And we also taught them the differences between those kinds of touches, didn't we?

A Yes, and don't forget we talked about comfortable and safe touches too.

LL That's right, Andy. What are we going to teach the boys and girls today?

A Today we're going to teach them about their private parts.

LL Why would boys and girls need to know about their private parts?

A Because a touch on your private parts can get pretty confusing, and it can be an unsafe touch for you too. It's important to know where your private parts are so you know what to do if you are touched there.

LL Where are the private parts Andy?

A Your private parts would be those parts underneath your swimming suit, if you had a swimming suit on. For boys, your private parts would be underneath your swimming trunks. For girls, your private parts would be underneath your one-piece or two-piece swimming suit, which ever one you had on, (demonstrate where on chart.)

LL Andy, do these private parts have any special names?

A Yes, they do, and it is very important for boys and girls to know the right names too. A boys' private part under his swimming suit is called a PENIS, (demonstrate where on chart.)

LL A boy's private part is called a PENIS.

A Very good. The girls' private parts are underneath their swimming suits, and on the bottom, her private part is called the VAGINA. On the top, the private parts are called BREASTS, (demonstrate where on chart.)

LL Wait a minute, Andy, it sounds like girls have more private parts than boys do.

A They do. Girls have breasts and a vagina, while boys have a penis.

LL I see. So if boys or girls get touched on their private parts, what can they do?

A Because their body belongs to them, they have the right to decide who touches it, and in what way. They have the right to say "NO," to those kinds of touches.

LL Andy, you have taught the boys and girls some very important things today about personal safety, and about their bodies.

A Oh, it is very important. Remember boys and girls, that your body belongs to you, you have the right to decide who touches it, and you can say "NO" to touches you don't like.

LL Andy, do you think that you could sing your song for the boys and girls again? I think it would help them to learn it, and I know it would help them remember what you have taught them.

A Oh, yes. I'd like to sing for the boys and girls. Maestro, can I have the music please? (Andy sings, "I Can Say No")

I Can Say No

I can say no, I can say no
To touches I don't like,
I can say no, I can say no
To touches not quite right,

When someone touches you
In a way that you don't like.
It's okay to say "no,"
Say "no" with all your might!

Repeat verse once

Last ending:
It's okay to say "no,"
Say "no" with all your might!

Evaluation:

1. Andy quizzes the boys and girls over the concepts that were presented in lesson, to reinforce and determine retention; and/or,
2. A short written evaluation tool can be used by the classroom teacher (currently in process of development.)

III. LESSON PLAN 3: "WHO DO YOU TELL?"

Objectives:

1. To review concepts presented in last lesson.
2. To introduce the concept to 'get away and tell'.
3. To introduce the second verse to the song, "I Can Say No".

Materials:

Student Materials: Paper and pencil for drawing individual pictures of trusted persons, to tell.

Teacher Materials: "Andy" if done by author of lesson plan. Video of Andy if done by classroom teacher. Music lead sheet for song, "I Can Say No". Cassette of music for practicing song with children.

Procedure: Use anticipatory set and script.
Anticipatory set: Boys and girls, does anyone remember what we talked about last time? That's right, we talked about our private parts. Today we are going to talk about something else that we can do to keep ourselves safe, getting away from persons who may be touching us, and, telling someone we trust about what happened.

Lesson: To be taught by the following script.

LL Andy, we are here today to talk to the boys and girls about getting away from someone that may be touching them in uncomfortable or unsafe ways, and about telling someone what happened. Before we start, would you mind just briefly reviewing what we talked about in the last lesson?

A I'd be happy to. OOPS! I forgot, what DID we talk about last time?

LL Andy!

A Okay, okay, I was just teasing! Remember boys and girls, we talked about our private parts. Do you remember that for boys their private part underneath their swimming trunks is called a...that's right, a PENIS! For girls, their private parts underneath their swimming suits are called BREASTS on the top, and VAGINA on the bottom.

LL So, Andy, because I'm a girl, I would have private parts called breasts and a vagina?

A That's right. And because I'm a boy, I would have a penis.

(Review on chart where private parts are.)

LL Andy, now that we know what our private parts are, what would we do is someone we didn't want to touch us, was touching us on one of our private parts?

A Well, remember that your body belongs to you, and you have the right to say, "No," to touches you don't like.

LL Yes, I remember, but what do I do to get this person to stop?

A Say, "NO" in your very important voice. "Stop that, I don't like it." Then try to get away.

LL So it's important to know how to say "NO" in a very important voice isn't it?

A Yep, it sure is.

LL Well, Andy, let's say I did this. I said "NO," and this person DID stop, and I got away. Then I was afraid that this person might do the same thing again, or even hurt me or someone I loved, what could I do?

A It is VERY IMPORTANT that you find someone you trust and tell them what happened.

LL Andy, what if that person didn't believe you, and wouldn't help you?

A Then it is your RIGHT to find someone else that you trust, and tell THAT person.

LL And what if that person doesn't believe me either?

A Then you have the RIGHT to keep telling people until someone DOES believe you!

LL So you are saying that I have the right to be believed, is that what you are saying?

A Yes! You have the RIGHT to say, "NO." You have the RIGHT to tell someone and you have the RIGHT to be believed. And so if the first one you tell doesn't believe you, boys and girls, you just keep telling until you ARE believed!

LL Andy, what if the person doing the touching is someone that you love, like, or respect very much? Let's say that it could be someone like your mother, father, uncle, aunt, babysitter, teacher, friend or neighbor.

A It doesn't matter who it is. If that person is touching you in an uncomfortable and unsafe way, you have the RIGHT to say, "NO," get away and tell someone you trust.

LL What good is it to tell someone you trust, Andy?

A Well, maybe they can help you so that it doesn't happen again.

LL Andy, it is so good to know that the boys and girls and I have the right to say no, and the right to tell someone, and the right to be believed.

A Yes, it is, and I hope the boys and girls never forget it either!

LL Just one more question, Andy. What kinds of people might the boys and girls be able to tell?

A Well, first, it should be someone that you trust. People you trust could include your teacher, school nurse, mother, father, brother, sister, principal, policeman and even your friend.

LL That is quite a list of people that you might be able to tell. And Andy, if one doesn't believe you...?

A Keep telling until you're believed!

LL Andy, would you like to teach the boys and girls the second verse to your song?

A I sure would. Let me go over the words once, okay?

LL Okay.

A "Who do you tell, who do you tell,
When help is what you need?
Who do you tell, who do you tell,
Someone who will believe.

Teacher, nurse or friend,
Principal or police.
If the first one doesn't work out,
Keep telling till you're believed!"

LL Now that the boys and girls have an idea of what the words are like, can you sing it for them, Andy?

A You bet!

*Andy sings "Who Do You Tell?" (Second verse to the song, "I Can Say No.")

Evaluation:

1. Andy quizzes the boys and girls over the concepts that were presented in lesson, to reinforce and determine retention; and/or,
2. A short written evaluation tool can be used by the classroom teacher (currently in process of development.)

In conclusion, parts of this lesson plan were used as concluding or review sessions in several Anchorage, Alaska elementary public schools, 1987-88. They were enthusiastically received by students, teachers, and administrators.

The Role of Annandale in the Life and Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson

Art Davidson

Robinson speaks for us in our own inexplicably aborted time as no one else, even among the very great, quite does. His tone knows truths about us we don't know ourselves...His is the after voice, the evening voice.

Archibald MacLeish (MacLeish, 1969: 217-219)

Introduction

To Edwin Arlington Robinson, the earth was "a kind of spiritual kindergarten where millions of people are trying to spell God with the wrong blocks" (Redman, 1926: 20). On this playground Robinson tried to match pieces of material, everyday experience with spiritual ideals. Although he often failed to fit the pieces together in his personal life, his attempts inspired a prolific body of poetry for which he received three Pulitzer prizes.

Among the collected works of Robinson are three poems which feature a character named Annandale. Written over a period of some thirty years, these poems offer a unique perspective on both the poetry and life of Robinson. "The Book of Annandale," "How Annandale Went Out," and "Annandale Again" each stands as a significant poem on its own individual merits. Taken together, they form a unique and powerful trilogy and provide insight into Robinson's poetry and his personal quest for love and meaning.

Through Annandale, Robinson develops the universal themes of love, death, truth, courage, and spirit that are the touchstones of his greatest poems. Annandale acts out Robinson's obsession with making sense of life, when perhaps there was none to be made. He searches for ultimate truths and a transcendent, spiritual love.

The Annandale poems exemplify both the force of Robinson's psychological insights and the beauty of his meticulously crafted verse. Combining an accessible diction with precisely drawn meter and syntax, Robinson develops the intricate Annandale themes into compelling poems.

Beneath their surface, the Annandale poems are also deeply autobiographical. Read from this perspective they yielded deeper levels of meaning and reveal why these poems, and particularly "How Annandale Went Out," were of enormous importance to Robinson. The role of Annandale, one discovers, is both a paradigm for man's search

Art Davidson's paper was completed for English 351, "Poetry," Tom Sexton, Professor, UAA English Department.

for love and meaning and a projection of Robinson's own soul. Annandale is both a vehicle for developing complex poetic themes and the voice of Robinson's own yearnings and anguish speaking to the great unrequited love of his life.

Annandale in the Poetry of Robinson: The Book of Annandale

"Six hundred lines of blank verse without any bumble bees and sunsets is a pretty stiff dose, I fancy (Robinson, 1901: letter)." This might have been uttered by an overwhelmed reader, but it was Robinson himself, speaking of "The Book of Annandale." "I don't know who will read it," he wrote to a friend before its publication, "but I shall put it out and trust to somebody's finding music and a few ideas in it" (Robinson, 1901: letter).

There is indeed a wealth of music and ideas in this narrative. Structured in blank verse with its finely tuned iambic meter, "The Book of Annandale" revolves around George Annandale whose first wife Miriam has just died. He is drawn to Damaris whose first husband has also passed away. In the opening lines, Annandale reflects on the death of his wife Miriam with mixed feelings. He is sad, but not overwhelmed. He feels loss, but also a sense of relief in her passing. Annandale's questioning of his feelings in the first stanza illustrates why Robinson is considered perhaps the greatest master of the speculative or conjectural approach to poetry:

> ...There was a present sense
> Of something indeterminable near —
> The soul-clutch of a prescient emptiness
> That would not be foreboding. And if not,
> What then? — or was it anything at all?
> Yes it was something — it was everything —
> But what was everything? or anything?
> (Dickey, 1966: xv)

Here is the posturing of possibilities that is found in virtually all of Robinson's poetry. "Uncertainty was the air he breathed," writes James Dickey in his introduction to the Selected Poems of Robinson, "and speculation was not so much a device with him...as it was a habit of mind, an integral part of the self" (Dickey, 1966: xv). Examining and reexamining, Robinson has Annandale work down through layers of uncertainty, reaching at last a deeper uncertainty wrapped around the old abstraction of love itself.

This search for meaning has left Annandale "unanswered and unsatisfied." But a secret book he has written projects a clarity of feeling and purpose:

> The spiritual plaything of his life:
> There were words no eyes had even seen
> Save his; there were the words that were not made
> For glory or for gold...

The poetic words in the book are the inner feelings and thoughts of Annandale and of Robinson, or at least the spiritual part of Robinson, for whom Annandale is speaking. These precious words were not meant for Miriam, because, ironically and somewhat enigmatically, "His love had been so much the life of her / And hers so much the life of

his."

On the eve of Miriam's death, Annandale can't quite tell for whom the book was intended. He feels in limbo, "Out of this life and in another life: / And in the stillness of this other life / He wondered and he drowsed." In this reflective state of mind Annandale anticipates for whom his words and secret yearnings are meant. He sense, perhaps subconsciously, not so much a person as a spirit to whom his most intimate feelings are linked:

> The searching face, the eloquent strange face —
> That with a sightless beauty looked on him
> And with a speechless promise uttered words
> That were not the world's words, or any kind
> That he had known before.

After the burial of Miriam is complete, Annandale realized his book is meant for Damaris, the woman he has anticipated, somehow always known, but never touched. She has an intuitive way of understanding Annandale's inner feelings. She has been married, but "...he was gone / the good man she had married long ago;" But though this man is gone, he is not completely gone. His presence still lingers like a ghost in Damaris' mind, keeping her from what she can be, if she joins Annandale. Damaris,

> ...questioned of herself
> What measure or primeval doubts and fears
> Were still to be gone through that she might win
> Persuasion of her strength and of herself
> To be what she could see that she must be,
> Not matter what the ghost was.

Such ghosts have become the creatures of psychoanalysis. And it's upon such hauntings of the heart that Robinson's poem begins to gather momentum. Annandale and Damaris are about to join in a wondrous love. Their passion is not of the flesh but of the spirit. They are on the threshold of attaining something beyond themselves, a transcendental fulfillment, such as one would find in the philosophy of Emerson whom Robinson greatly admired (Robinson, 1916: 12). Damaris is trying to realize her fuller self. She has,

> Struggled and grown these years to demonstrate
> That close without those hovering clouds of gloom
> And through them here and there forever gleamed
> The Light itself, the life, the love, the glory,

Unfortunately, there is one little problem. Damaris had made a promise to her departed husband. She had told him "...that she would love no other man, / That there was not another man on earth / Whom she could ever love."

The mission of Annandale is to overcome this entanglement with another man, to throw off "the mist of grief that clings to newfound happiness." The line is drawn. On

one side is Damaris' material experience, a promise that binds her to the past. On the other side is spiritual fulfillment — Annandale and her transcendent self. Annandale, trying to reconcile experience and spiritual vision, urges Damaris to throw off "The burden that had held her down so long," and to chose him whose "eyes that had in them / No gleam but of the spirit."

The final stanzas build in a powerful crescendo of affirmation of their love and of the poetry within the book of Annandale:

> Yes, like an anodyne, the voice of him,
> There were the words that he had made for her,
> For her alone. The more she thought of them
> The more she lived them, and the more she knew
> The life-grip and the pulse of warm strength in them.
> They were the first and final words to her,
> And there was in them a far questioning
> That had for long been variously at work,
> Divinely, and elusively at work.

With Damaris on the verge of joining Annandale there is celebration of the poet himself, "the man within the music" who is Annandale, Robinson, and, in a larger sense, all poets and the poet in everyone:

> ...It may have been
> The triumph and the magic of the soul,
> ... — a new joy
> That humanized the latent wizardry
> Of his prophetic voice and put for it
> The man within the music.

In the exquisite closing lines, Damaris is freed and born again in her new life with Annandale:

> ...And the truth
> Like silence after some far victory,
> Had come to her and she had found it out
> As if it were a vision, a thing born
> So suddenly! — just as a flower is born,
> Or as a world is born — so suddenly.

On its most superficial level, "The Book of Annandale" is the story of changing relationships. Spouses die. Bodies are buried. Memories are left behind. The man and woman are free to pursue the joy of their long anticipated love. However, as a simple love story the plot is implausible. Damaris' pledge to never love another man appears contrived.

Read at a more thematic and symbolic level, this weakness doesn't interfere with the poem's power that emerges in the surge of love which seeks fulfillment. This is love at flood stage that will not be contained. It is the quest for love, the eternal hope, the

vision of love fulfilled.

"The Book of Annandale" turns on the urgency of Annandale and Damaris and climaxes with their love overcoming all obstacles. Here is love candled in the light of poetry, a transcendent love in which Annandale and Damaris can become all that they might be. As Ellsworth Barnard said, "The Book of Annandale...is a symbolic suggestion that the lovers will be together, a symbol of life's onward surge, its refusal to be bound by mere conventions, its compulsion on men or women to change or die (Barnard, 1969: 286)."

Stylistically, "The Book of Annandale" illustrates how Robinson utilized an unassuming diction with precise selection of words to form easy flowing (though not always easily understood) phrases and stanzas. His choice of "simple" words was not for lack of an extensive vocabulary. In fact, one of his contemporaries, Edna Romig, speculated that "his vocabulary is probably the largest of all vocabularies, excepting neither that of Shakespeare or Milton" (Romig, 1932: 303-326).

In defense of an accessible poetic language Robinson once said, "Why all the thees and thous, the forsooths, the hifalutin solemnities? Must language of verse be twisted out of reason in order to be poetical? Why not write as clerks talked in stores on Water Street" (Hagedorn, 1938: 89)?

In "The Book of Annandale" Robinson showed his ability to write in iambic meter with finely wrought syntax to form compelling images in blank verse. Typically, these are not graphic images in the tradition of Wordsworth's daffodils "fluttering and dancing in the breeze." "There is very little tinkling water, " Robinson once said of his poetry, "and there is not a red-bellied robin in the whole collection" (Robinson, 1980: 12-14). Robinson's images are often attitudes, perspectives, emotions, and various psychological nuances brought to life. "The unifying power lies not in the words themselves," writes Barnard, "but solely in the image that is called to the reader's mind — some sight or sound or thought, some feature of the physical or psychic landscape. Such a use of suggestion is obvious in "The Book of Annandale" where the book is a symbol of the new life that Annandale has subconsciously been waiting to build" (Barnard, 1969: 93)."

How Annandale Went Out

In 1910, some fourteen years after he wrote "The Book of Annandale," Robinson published "How Annandale Went Out." This dramatic monologue in sonnet form bears no readily apparent connection with the earlier Annandale poem other than the name Annandale. With no mention of either Miriam or Damaris, the love quest or the "book," there is no evidence to make us believe this Annandale is the same Annandale we met in the previous poem.

The speaker in "How Annandale Went Out" is a physician who views a wreck of a man so wasted that "they called it Annandale..." He is no longer a real person but an "it," and "an apparatus" beyond mending. The doctor says he knew the man as well as the ruin of the man. With nothing but "hell between him and the end" the doctor takes out a syringe, "a slight kind of engine," and extinguishes the wreck.

The doctor then asks the reader to judge him, not from conventional mores, but for the way it really was: "Now view yourself as I was." From that vantage point, one would really understand, the speaker suggests, that there can be no blame in this mercy

killing. "You wouldn't hang me? I thought not," the doctor and poem conclude.

This poem can be read as an affirmation of euthanasia — life can become so unbearable that it is merciful to end it. There is, however, more to the poem.

In his quest for knowledge and understanding Robinson was always probing beneath the surface in search of the truth. Here he presented murder, committed by a doctor that is trained not to kill but to save lives. At first glance it is a heinous crime. But Robinson begs us to see through appearances to the courage of a doctor who relieves suffering, cures an incurable affliction, by taking the life of the patient.

In this poem we see Robinson's proclivity to cast characters in conflict. People are caught between cause and effect, right and wrong, convention and moral imperatives. Experience and conventional wisdom would suggest extending life at all cost, while the spiritual necessity and courageous act is to relieve the suffering by extinguishing the wreck that used to be a man.

Read by itself, "How Annandale Went Out" is an effective poem that revolves around the themes of euthanasia and the Doctor's courage to do what he must. However, viewed in connection with "The Book of Annandale," it raises a number of troubling questions. Is there a connection between the two Annandales other than their name? If so, what? If there is no other connection, why use the name Annandale again?

Also unanswered is the question of why "How Annandale Went Out" was so important to Robinson. He insisted on it being included in a volume of his selected verse over the objections of his editor (Perry, 1931: vii-viii). David Nivison, a Robinson scholar, has stated that this poem was "so important to the poet that it was almost a part of his being, to be guarded as though it were a piece of himself" (Nivison, 1960: 178-190).

Toward the end of his life, Robinson shed some light on these questions when he wrote "Annandale Again" which links together the Annandales of the first two poems. However, as will be shown shortly, it is the autobiographical roots of these poems that reveal the multiple identities of the wrecked Annandale and open up thematic levels more intricate and just as gripping as euthanasia.

Annandale Again

When, some twenty years after he went out, Annandale returns in forty-seven iambic quatrains of "Annandale Again," one suspects that Robinson had something on his mind. Something unresolved.

Placed in time between the two other Annandale poems, "Annandale Again" forms a narrative link between them. It also carries the themes of unfulfilled love, death and spiritual union far beyond the earlier poems.

"Annandale Again" opens with the speaker (presumably Robinson) recognizing Annandale "through the door" as if he were not a separate man of flesh and blood, but more a memory returned, some part of one's psyche, spirit or soul:

> Almost as if my thought of him
> Had called him from he said not where
> ...He was Annandale,

The only man who never changed.

Around the first words of Annandale appear quotation marks that separate him from the narrator. Annandale recalls the loss of his former wife Miriam and says that, though he wept and grieved, he felt the presence of a new, stronger and more spiritual love:

My darkness had a smothered sun
Behind it trying to shine through.
More like a living voice of light.

And then through Annandale, Robinson masterfully poses the painful dichotomy of existing and knowing, earthly life and spiritual awareness:

"I wonder we should learn to live,
Where there so much for us to know.

For that we don't. We live meanwhile;
And then, with nothing learned, we die.
God has been very good to him
Whose end is not an asking why."

With this Annandale turns again to his book and its message to Damaris - the connecting of their spirits through his poetic vision.

"But there was wisdom in it too;
And there are times her eyes are wet
With wonder that I should foresee
So much of her before we met."

But in "Annandale Again" this vision does not lead to the flood of love that was sweeping Annandale and Damaris away at the conclusion of "The Book of Annandale." Here it leads to "How Annandale Went Out." Damaris has joined Annandale only in his mind.

"Well, I brought her home with me,
And you may find her in my eyes."

Annandale is trapped. He is bound to this inner, spiritual love that cannot find a place in life. His passion can find no physical consummation with Damaris. The pieces of material experience and spiritual yearnings don't fit together, at least not in everyday life. Annandale and Damaris are imprisoned within their love.

...So you see
How graciously has fate prepared
A most agreeable fate for me...

We're in a trap. The world is one
Obscurely sprung for our ascent,

But though they are trapped, their confinement is in a place where their spirits can coexist. It is not a physical place where a reasoning man, such as a doctor, could find them, but a realm of the imagination or spirit where Robinson so often found that larger presence:

You doctors, who have found so much
In matter that it's hardly there,
May all in your discomfiture,
Anon be on your knees in prayer

For larger presence of what is
In what is not.

So it is that the love of Annandale and Damaris goes on "indefinitely" without either marriage or any day-to-day life:

sufficient without subterfuge,
Harmonious without history.

At this point, Annandale goes home, but he never gets there. "Poor Annandale! Poor Damaris!" No sooner does he leave closing the door on his chance to be with Damaris in some physical way, than there is "a sick crash in the street." Annandale goes out. The narrator, not Annandale, closes out the poem with a frightful sense of loss.

Sometimes I'll ask myself Alone,
the measure of her debt to me
If some of him were still alive,
and motionless, for her to see.

Annandale in the Life of Robinson

Thus far Annandale has been viewed solely as a poetic figure. The poems are successful without any biographical references to Robinson's life. Knowing about the lives of most poets is not critical to understanding their poems. However, in the case of Edwin Arlington Robinson, there are both stylistic qualities and thematic levels that come to light only with knowledge of the poet's personal life. This is particularly true of the Annandale poems.

Stylistically, Robinson was often criticized for being too obscure. By nature, metaphorical language, more suggestive than precise, is open to a variety of interpretations. In the deeply psychological poetry of Robinson this imprecision tended to obscurity as he drew images, metaphors and similes from the labyrinth of man's mind

and soul. To critics who found his poetry hard to understand, he suggested that by its nature poetry should not be entirely understood: "I won't have it any worse that obscure, which I meant it to be to a certain extent" (Robinson, 1980: 12-14).

As a matter of necessity, Robinson meant his work to be obscure to protect the identity of individuals who appear in his poetry. Most of Robinson's 233 fully drawn characters—Chaucer was second with 188—(Smith, 1965: xiv) were based on a handful of people. In his portrait of Robinson, Where the Light Falls, Chard Smith writes that Robinson's "outward obscurity was necessary in the autobiographical poetry to disguise the main characters...for they were his much beloved closest kin (Smith, 1965: 64).

Since Robinson's poetry does not turn on outward appearances, he did not transfer specific features, mannerisms, or opinions into his poetic characters. Instead, he related the inner psychological and spiritual aspects where individuals come to represent universal man or woman. "Within the disguises," writes Smith who was a poet, critic and close friend of Robinson, "there are essential aspects or facets of the actual selves...of the two or three, at most five people nearest to Robinson" (Smith 1965: 64).

These people were a lady named Emma, Robinson's brothers, and his parents whose strong personalities shaped the three sons. The father brought to the family an expansive mind and humor. The mother contributed artistic and intellectual interests and the quality of perfectionism. In the oldest son, Dean, and the youngest, Edwin, the combination of parents became as Smith relates, "imagination and the necessity of pursuing truth inwardly in resistance to the practical lets and hindrances of the outer world" (Smith, 1965: 73).

Dean was Robinson's hero, the older brother with whom he identified emotionally and spiritually. As a child, Robinson felt what happened to Dean, happened to him also. Later, Robinson would say that "Dean knew more at twenty than I shall ever know" (Barstow, 1939: 7).

Herman was the middle brother, popular and outgoing, the kind of young man to whom everyone listened. He seemed destined for worldly success. Robinson didn't identify with Herman, but stood, at first in awe and later in dismay of this brother's worldliness.

For a time the family prospered. The father moved them into a large house on the hill above a small New England town. The brilliant Dean went off to medical school and became a doctor. Herman, charismatic and full of grand ideas, went west with his father's money and visions of the fortunes he would make. The more introspective and sensitive Edwin knew from an early age that he wanted to be a poet. "Writing has been my dream," he would say, "ever since I was old enough to lay a plan for an air castle" (Robinson, 1940: 9). As he was finishing high school, Robinson found someone with whom he could share this dream, a beautiful and sensitive young lady named Emma. They would go on long walks, sit and talk for hours. Their intimacy was not physical, but emotional and spiritual. For Robinson, Emma was a kindred spirit who understood his deepest yearnings, the voice within his poetry.

The first great trauma of Robinson's life came when Herman returned from the west. Dashing and worldly, he swept Emma off her feet. Within a few short weeks they were engaged to be married. One can imagine Robinson's anguish.

Around the time of this fateful marriage, the Robinson family began its fall from

grace, a long descent into financial, emotional and physical ruin. The father began drinking, his fortune slipped away and he died an alcoholic. The mother suffered a withering death from black diphtheria, so contagious in those pre-vaccination days that neither a doctor nor a mortician would attend her. Dean became addicted to morphine, lost his medical practice, and became an ice cutter. He eventually retreated to his room in the old family house, a depressed and ranting invalid. Herman's dreams of grandeur collapsed with his investments and, like his father, he destroyed himself with whiskey. Emma endured. She raised her children while suffering the abuses of an alcoholic husband from whom she became increasingly estranged. Emma also encouraged Robinson to write the poetry that would help him survive and transcend the "wrecked empire" (Robinson, 1940: 9) of this family.

On the very eve of his mother's death, Robinson went up to his study to begin writing the first lines of "The Book of Annandale:"

> George Annandale said something to his friends-
> A word or two, brusque, but yet smoothed enough
> To suit their funeral gaze — went upstairs;
> And there in the one room he could call
> his own...

There in his "blurred loneliness," Robinson created George Annandale to be the poet within himself. Annandale's departed wife, Miriam, was Robinson's own mother, Mary. On the autobiographical level it is clear why "his love had been so much the life of her, / and her's had been so much the life of him."

Robinson would hear Emma moving about the house, just as Annandale would hear "the steps and skirts of someone scudding on the stairs." In "The Book of Annandale" Emma becomes Damaris. Robinson's long burning love for Emma, is projected into George Annandale's love for Damaris. And Damaris' departed husband is, of course, Robinson's own brother Herman who, as a result of his obsessive drinking, "...was gone, / the good man she had married long ago." Just as Herman was deadened and diminished from alcohol, so is Damaris' first husband gone, except for the ghost of that once good man.

With this biographical background, one sees Robinson's own heart laid bare in every line of "The Book of Annandale." Passages leap out with new poignancy. Through the love of Annandale and Damaris, Robinson poured out the impassioned pleas that he could never utter in real life. He calls Emma's marriage to Herman "The trivial hideous hold it had on her—" And if she "snapped it off," then she would be free, "free to be what she would, free to be what she was." Robinson urges her to "be done forever and at once with Argan's ghost (Herman) / And all such outworn churchyard servitude," (marriage).

Damaris' promise to her late husband never to love another man was in real life Emma's promise to Herman that even upon his death she would not marry his younger brother Edwin. In the poem, Robinson affirms the great possibilities of his love for Emma through Annandales courting of Damaris. He rails against Emma's promise to a drunken Herman, calling it a "death-bed snare."

...She knew that love
Was true, that he was true, that she was true;
And should a death-bed snare that she had made
So long ago be stretched inexorably
Through all her life, only to be unspun
With her last breathing?

"The Book of Annandale" concludes with Robinson calling on Damaris to leave forever "the vexed-up ghost of what was gone," so that she could find his "love that had endured, self guarded and supreme, / to the glad end of all that wavering." And so, with "no wretched quivering strings that held her to the churchyard," Damaris would be free to love the poet, "the man within the music."

So it is, that the role of George Annandale within the poem is the prophetic, visionary voice of the poet who sweeps Damaris up in the passion of his spiritual love. In the life of Robinson, Annandale is the poet's own intimate outcry to Emma to snap off the last threads that bind her to his drunken brother and join him.

Repercussions from the Robinson-Emma-Herman triangle rippled through Robinson's poetry. Herman was the model for Richard Cory, the successful gentleman who "went home one night and put a bullet through his head." As Smith points out, Herman is the man of the "brainless art" (business) in "The Night Before." He is the one who had "weakened / A woman's love to his own desire," (stolen Emma away with his lust). Emma herself would appear in many places, including "Merlin," "Lancelot" and "Tristram."

Robinson did such a masterful job of obscuring the identity of his autobiographical characters that during his life, probably only Emma, and perhaps his brothers, understood the personal message. In fact, one suspects that, although Robinson published the Annandale poems he was speaking primarily to one person. As he says of the book of Annandale:

Yes, like an anodyne, the voice of him,
There were the words that he had made for her,
For her alone...

"How Annandale Went Out" raises the question of Annandale's identity which is a key to Robinson's public obscurity and personal intensity in these poems. In his study of Annandale (Nivison, 1960: 178-190) Nivison traced Annandale's origin back to Robinson's brother Dean, which leads to an entirely new level of meaning for the poem. To make this connection Nivison had to gather information and clues from various literary and personal sources. Nivison's effort attests to the ingenuity and success of Robinson's obscurity for Nivison was not only an English professor put part of the family—his grandparents were Herman and Emma Robinson.

From Dr. Merril Moore, who specialized in the psychology of addiction and was a close friend of Robinson, Nivison coaxed the comment "[t]hat poem is about your uncle Dean (Nivison, 1960: 188)." Dr. Moore would not elaborate, but Nivison found an observation by Robinson's editor, Laurence Taylor, which linked Dean to euthanasia (Thompson, 1953: 140). From his own mother who was eight years old at the time of

her uncle Dean's death, Nivison received the following account:

> I remember vividly his (Dean's) sad pinched face lying in the casket, and the family arguing why and how he died. They decided that, realizing his plight, he had saved a little of each portion of morphine sent up from the store until he had accumulated a lethal dose (Nivison, 1960: 187).

The picture that emerges is that Robinson's beloved brother, his spiritual alter ego, is Annandale in "How Annandale Went Out." The poem describes Dean's suicide. Dean is both the man and the ruin. He is both Robinson's much admired brother and a delirious drug addict — "A wreck, with hell between him and the end." Dean is also the doctor, as he was in life, who administers the lethal dose "with a slight kind of engine." Driven to the hell of drug induced insanity, this once brilliant man summons the strength to perform an act of ultimate courage. By taking his own life, Dean (man, wreck, and doctor) seizes the last meaningful opportunity in his life. This is a heroic suicide in which he ends both his own terminal suffering and the prolonged burden on his family. Here again is Robinson's "incurable optimism" (Robinson, 1940: III) finding love, truth, courage and spirit in the bleakest of human circumstances.

As intriguing as this reading of "How Annandale Went Out" may be, it only partially answers the questions of why this poem was so important to Robinson and why the name Annandale was used again. Robinson's close identification with his brother might prompt him to use the name Annandale in association with Dean. But there is yet another, more personal, level to his poem in which the name Annandale had to be used.

Clues to this deepest psychological level of "How Annandale Went Out" lie in the chronology of the Robinson family. Dean died in 1899. At the time Robinson was living away from the hometown of Gardiner because of tension with Herman over Emma. Robinson returned for his brother's funeral, but it was not until 1909, some ten years later, that he wrote "How Annandale Went Out." If he was writing only about his brother's death, it is possible, but unlikely he would have waited a decade.

It was, in fact, several major events in the life of Robinson in 1909 that compelled him to write "How Annandale Went Out." First, his brother Herman died. Robinson returned to Gardiner for the first time since Dean's funeral some ten years before. He came back not just for Herman's funeral but for extended stay to see if he and Emma would at last consummate the love he had envisioned in "The Book of Annandale." Robinson asked Emma to marry him. She refused him.

Imagine Robinson's devastation! For more than fifteen years he has waited for Emma to be free. Finally, she is free. But she rejects his proposal. The great affirmation of their love that he proclaimed so eloquently in "The Book of Annandale" is dashed. The spiritual love he has carried for Emma all these years is wrecked. How could he express his agony? How could he show Emma that he is suffering a fate worse than death? And how could he end his unbearable anguish?

Robinson wrote "How Annandale Went Out." He used the name Annandale not by coincidence, but by necessity for it was everything that George Annandale represented in the heart and soul of Robinson that was now dying. The Emma inspired spirit,

vision, poetry, and glory were all dying. "The man within the music" was fading away. Out there on the playground of his own life Robinson had failed to math the pieces of everyday experience with his spiritual aspirations. To express this death of all that was most precious to him, Robinson recalled Dean's excruciating death. He knew that this comparison would have a vivid impact on Emma. She had tended to this once fine and brilliant man who, toward the end, would mumble, moan and scream through the night. Emma had lived with Dean's suffering, and watched his spirit die, bit by bit, day after day. This was how Robinson must have felt after Emma's rejection. And he wanted her to know it. His agony, like Dean's delirium, was the "hell between him and the end." Robinson's spirit was dying just as Dean's had and he would try to summon the kind of courage Dean had exercised.

The speaker in "How Annandale Went Out" is Robinson, or, more precisely, that part of Robinson which is a man of reason, a doctor. He is there "To flourish, to find words and attend,"—that is, to survive this ordeal; to express it in poetry; and to attend to the wreck as a physician would attend to a sick person. On this level of the poem, the word "hypocrite" stands out for its shades of meaning. It can refer to the Hippocratic Oath which embodies a physician's obligation to his patient. Since Robinson, like Dean, is both physician and patient in this poem, the implication is that he is obligated to alleviate his own suffering—which he will do. The primary meaning of hypocrite—one who pretends to be what he is not—is how Robinson must have felt. The vision, spirit, poetry and love he had directed to Emma had come to nothing. It was all pretense.

The second stanza begins with a final appeal to Emma to make things right. She is the only one who could put the pieces of his everyday life and his soul back together: "So put the two together if you can."

Within the last three lines is the resolution that reads clearly on the three distinct levels of this poem:

> Now view yourself as I was, on the spot —
> With a slight kind of engine. Do you see?
> Like this ...

On the level of euthanasia, these words describe the doctor performing a mercy killing with needle and syringe. In the context of Dean taking his own life, they describe him transcending his suffering by giving himself a lethal injection. On the level of Robinson's own suffering, this passage describes his act of trying to extinguish a part of himself, the part that is the wreck that was Annandale. Notice how well "a slight kind of engine" describes both a syringe and a writer's fountain pen. With his pen Robinson is attempting a sort of literary exorcism in which he hopes to forever vanquish the wrecked Annandale from his tormented soul. That loving and spiritual part of Robinson which yearned to be united with Emma (in fact, existed to be with her) had no place to go. The glory and vision that was Annandale has turned to anguish. Robinson must find the courage to extinguish that part of himself that has been so much in love and so spiritually vital for so many years. He does it, "like this"—in the words of this poem. The poem itself is a mercy killing.

Not surprisingly, "The Return of Annandale," some twenty years later, coincides with another junction in the lives of Robinson and Emma. In 1927 "Tristram" was

published and became a best seller. For the first time in his life Robinson could pay his bills and have a reserve. He was, at last, a man of means, more a man of the world than he had ever been.

Buoyed up with his new wealth and riding the crest of prestige from his Pulitzer prizes, he made a final proposal to Emma. He was approaching 59 and Emma was 62. Again she said no. With her help, Robinson came to realize that their relationship had never been fully consummated because of his own nature. He had made only the most tentative of physical advances. In his life, as in his poetry, love's moment was imaginative and spiritual, with its carnal aspect an afterthought. And, as he would imply in "The March of the Cameron Men," perhaps he had subconsciously resisted marriage to ensure that he would not be distracted from his poetry. Whatever the reasons, Robinson finally realized that he and Emma would never live together as man and wife. It was then that he wrote "The Return of Annandale" which reflects this final acceptance.

In keeping with this acceptance, the tone of the third poem is more reflective and less impassioned than the first two. In contrast to the free, wide ranging blank verse of "The Book of Annandale," "Annandale Again" is written in well mannered quatrains with a moderating ABCB rhyme scheme. The perspective of the speaker has also evolved. In the first poem the speaker was so close to Annandale that he could convey his feelings without the use of quotation marks. Robinson and Annandale were one. In "How Annandale Went Out" the entire poem is in quotation marks, suggesting more distance between Annandale and Robinson. The speaker doesn't convey Annandale's thoughts but views him from he distance and then closes the poem with his own thoughts about Damaris/Emma. Robinson stands back and views Annandale as that impassioned, artistic part of his nature that has been drawn to Emma. Robinson is no longer one with Annandale, but is, instead, the doctor, wiser and more reflective.

"Annandale Again" recalls Robinson's and Emma's past—words in "The Book of Annandale" written only for Emma; their struggle to unite; the hope; the spiritual qualities of their love; and, finally, the rejection and death of Annandale. There is sadness: "No pleasure was awaiting me." There is his eternal questioning: "I'll ask and ask, and always ask / and have no answer; or none yet." In the end, there is resignation. Though he can understand what happened, Emma may never know the measure of her loss. She knows everything about his life, except, perhaps, what it all meant.

A doctor knows
The nature of an accident;
And Damaris, who knows everything,
May still be asking what it meant.

Afterword

"I discovered long ago," Robinson once said, "that an artist is just a sort of living whistle through which something blows" (Weeks, 1965: 131-145). Through Annandale, who represented the artist in Robinson, blew a storm of passions—love, hope, anticipation, uncertainty, pain, despair and, finally, the courage to accept and thereby

transcend his terminally desperate circumstance.

The abiding grace of Annandale is how thoroughly he embodied both the success and failure of Robinson, his searching poetic voice and his vulnerability in the world. Annandale would not reappear in Robinson's poetry. However, in "Mathias At the Door," one of Robinson's last poems, Timberlake voices what could be Annandale's epitaph:

> There is no cure for self;
> There's only an occasional revelation,
> Arriving not infrequently too late.
> For me it was too early — which is granted,
> Sometimes to the elected and the damned.

Robinson was both the elected and the damned. As Annandale lived and went out so did the poet. "Do as you must," said Annandale just before he disappeared into the night, "and God will say that you have done no wrong." To thine own self be true. As he lay in a hospital bed on his own way out, Robinson whispered to Chard Smith "I could never have done anything but write poetry" (Smith, 1965: 367). To his own poetic nature he had been true, though it meant he could never find enduring love except as an idea in the imaginative world of his poetry.

There at the very end was also the woman who had sent flowers when Robinson graduated from high school. Never his wife, but forever his inspiration, she was at his side "to flourish, to find words, and to attend" in her own way. It was to Emma that Robinson spoke his final words.

References

Barnard, E.
1969 Edwin Arlington Robinson: A Critical Study. New York: Octagon Press.

Barstow, J.
1939 My Tilbury Town. Privately printed.

Dickey, J.
1966 Selected Poems of Edwin Arlington Robinson (Introduction).
New York: Collier Books.

Hagedorn, H.
1938 Edwin Arlington Robinson. New York.

MacLeish, A.
1969 "On Rereading Robinson." Colby Library Quarterly (VIII).

Nivison, D.
1960 "Does It Matter How Annandale Went Out?" Colby Library Quarterly (V).

Perry, B.
1931 Selected Poems VII-VIII. New York: Macmillan.

Redman, B.
1926 Edwin Arlington Robinson. New York.

Robinson, E.
1916 "Edwin Arlington Robinson Defines Poetry." New York Times Magazine (Section 12).

Robinson, E.
1940 Selected Letters. New York.
1980 Selected Letters. New York.
19 n.d. Selected Letters III.

Robinson, E.
1901 Unpublished letter to Miss Peabody, June 4. Houghton Library.
1901 Unpublished letter to John Hays Gardner, December 8. Houghton Library.

Romig, E.
1932 "Tilbury Town and Camelot." University of Colorado Studies (XIX).

Smith, C.
1965 Where the Light Falls: A Portrait of Edwin Arlington Robinson. New York: Macmillan.

Thompson, L.
1953 Tilbury Town. New York.

Weeks, L.
1965 "E. A. Robinson's Poetics." Twentieth Century Literature (XI).

Get Up, Get Down

Hollis French

My father and I made our second attempt on Mt. McKinley this spring. We went with a small group of friends: my girlfriend, Peggy; a pal from Anchorage, Bob; and a friend I've known since I was six years old, Danny. I was the leader. We called ourselves the "Get Up, Get Down" expedition. Before I get too far along I should say I've noticed something about people's responses to a story about a mountain climbing trip. Most have only one question: Did you make it to the top? My dad and I talked about this preoccupation with the goal rather than the experience after our first trip to McKinley. He told me about one of his climbing buddies who occasionally goes on expeditions to the Himalayas with the big boys. Dad's friend has had a few successes and several failures and so when he greets another returning mountaineer, instead of asking the pointed question, he'll ask, "Did you have a good trip?"

The first time Dad and I went to McKinley was in May of 1986. We went as clients of a guide service, paying to let them do the logistics. They plan, they cook, they lead the way. It was an O.K. trip. The good part was enjoying the company of my father for two weeks. But a guide service is a business; it has a schedule and if you can keep up with it fine, but if you can't, an assistant guide will walk you back to base camp to wait for a plane to Talkeetna. Of seven clients, three made it to the summit. I was one of them, my dad was not.

That trip left us both with some bad feelings. A remark from one guide to another crystallized my disappointment: "How many did you put on top?" he asked. Put on top? As if they carried us . I didn't like that one bit, probably because it contained a little too much truth. As for my father (his name is Robert), an experienced mountaineer, and the feeling of being a guided tourist on McKinley didn't sit well with him either, nor did his decision to not push on when his body and our hot-shot guide said, "Quit." His journal of this trip focused on what he perceived as his own failure of will.

As for the rest of our team, Peggy had climbed Mt. Rainier, a glaciated mountain of fickle weather (like McKinley). Bob had tried McKinley once and had been unsuccessful, becoming very ill on that trip, and Danny was and is a ski instructor, "rock jock," ice-climber and all-around walking embodiment of Outside magazine.

Danny came to Alaska three weeks before our "fly-in" date to help me get things organized. He was enthusiastic, attentive to detail, and dedicated to the project. Bob, however, was on and off the trip a couple of times. His desire to climb the mountain conflicted with his job and his wife's impending delivery of a second baby. In fact, Bob's schedule was so tight, he didn't fly onto the mountain with us. When Peggy, Danny, Robert and I returned from the first day's carry we found Bob in camp, looking sheepish in bunny boots and blue jeans.

The first days went well. We handled all the smaller tasks without friction. We cooked, cleaned, set up tents, took them down, and moved slowly up the mountain. The weather was perfect—a deep blue sky I've only seen when above the haze of the lower

---

Hollis French's story was written for English 351, "Composition of Prose: Non-Fiction," Tom Sexton, Professor, UAA, English Department..

atmosphere. Before the first week was out, though, the weather turned bad, and Bob got sick.

Bad weather is a fact of life on McKinley. We'd planned for it. We had extra food, novels, a chess set, even little FM radios—all a way of making the path a little more pleasant. For Peggy and me the bad weather days were a nice break from our hectic schedules. The rest worked to my father's advantage as well. Danny was eager to get going.

Bob's illness was more worrisome to the rest of us than it was to him. He said it was a passing bout of nausea. He'd thrown up once and had little appetite. The rest of us were on the lookout for any one of the many altitude-related illnesses. The problem became more acute when we heard reports of clearing weather. Bob said he felt o.k. to move up. Danny wanted to follow doctrine and move the party down until Bob recovered fully. The decision fell to me. I said "Let's wait overnight, then move up in the morning." Which is what we did, into another storm.

We reached a safe campsite at 11,000 feet and found ten other teams there, waiting out the snow and winds. The reports we heard from descending parties were scary—minus 40 degree temperatures and tent-shredding winds at the 17,300 foot-high camp.

We were a long way from there. We'd been ten days getting to a place that should have only taken us four. We started saying things like, "The path is the goal," as though our object had been to come to McKinley and hang around for three weeks. Bob was feeling fit. Danny was chomping at the bit. Frictions began to develop. One morning Danny lit into me, complaining about my leadership; he thought I was being dictatorial. I resolved to try for more group decisions. The next day, Danny really surprised me.

Dad, Peggy and I were in one tent; Peggy was reading. Dad was beating me at chess when Danny came in looking distraught. He said he'd been having bad dreams about his sick grandfather, that he'd been ignoring his duties as a grandson, and that he'd been running away from things all of his life. He said he wanted to descend as soon as the weather cleared, fly to the east coast, and go to his grandfather and help him in any way he could.

My dad was all understanding and compassion. I was not. But it didn't matter how any of us felt. Danny had abandoned the goal of this expedition and there was no changing his mind. By coincidence it cleared that afternoon, and he went out with one of the other teams that had run out of food, time, or desire.

Dad, Bob, Peggy and I talked for hours that day about our options. Logistically, we were a little low on food and beginning to be pinched for time. Dad's enthusiasm was waning, Peg's was a little greater. Bob and I wanted to go up. The decisive point came when someone said, " The drive back to Anchorage will feel so much better if we climb this pig." We decided to push on, to go with as little weight as possible, and to turn back if we lost two more traveling days to storms.

We were lucky. The weather held overnight and we left camp the next morning sixty pounds lighter. Snowshoes, ski poles, books, extra fuel, and one of the tents stayed behind. We'd sleep four in a three-man tent from then on. Twelve hours of slogging took us to 14,000 feet.

If I were going to McKinley just for the "path," I'd only go to 14,000. The camp there is a big flat basin with steep walls on the two sides and great views on the others.

Situated above the lower glacier crud-weather and below the high winds of the upper mountain, the basin makes a good resting place and thus is a crossroads for climbers. There I've seen professional climbing teams in matching one-piece suits "tuning up" for a Himalayan expedition as well as guys in old wool pants and bunny boots trying to beg a gallon of fuel from a well-stocked guided party. We rested for a day, enjoying the scene.

Two day-trips up the Headwall, a steep climb leaving 14,000 feet put us at the precarious camp at 16,000 feet. Bob's health was once again a problem, though this time there was more than one angle to it. At 14,000 feet he'd surprised us all by announcing he'd stopped taking his lithium. I'd never known him to take it. Robert asked, "Isn't lithium a specific treatment for manic depression?" Bob said he had a very mild case but that his doctor had warned him of taking lithium at altitude. I had noticed some changes in his personality—like being withdrawn, "tuning out" at night with the radio—but I had put that down to fatigue.

At 16,000 feet there was the snow shovel incident. Bob was shoveling snow blocks for our wind wall. When he put the shovel down to move a block, the shovel skidded down the slope towards the glacier, 3,000 feet below. We lost sight of it. I really felt for Bob; earlier in the trip, I'd speared two cans of fuel with my crampons so I knew how it felt to make a dumb move. I told Bob to forget it-we still had a small kitchen shovel and a snow saw. But then he started walking down, alone and unroped, to try to find it . He was back with the shovel ninety minutes later. I was very angry. He'd put himself, and by extension, the rest of us at risk for no reason. The exertion made Bob nauseated and he vomited a couple of times that night.

Next morning Bob said he felt well enough to climb. We moved up to high camp, 17,000 feet. That was the best climbing day of the trip. Great panoramas, steep slopes on both sides, a feeling of looking down on the world.

That evening in camp was the first of two unpleasant confrontations with Bob. Peggy, Dad and I all felt good enough for a summit try the next day. We also felt Bob should not go. He'd been listless all afternoon and had not eaten. I happened to know one of the guides whose party was also at high camp, so we talked it over with him. Scott was adamant, "I don't climb with sick guys." I felt like he was looking at me and judging me as a poor leader for having moved my team up that day.

When we confronted Bob, he accused us of being paranoid about his medical condition. He countered every argument we put forward to dissuade him from a summit attempt. We went to sleep with the matter unresolved.

The next morning was very tense. We ate breakfast in silence. As Dad, Peggy, and I geared up to leave, Bob did too, a little way off. I asked him what his plans were. He said, "It doesn't matter, I'm not on the team." I was so mad I cursed at him. He started to walk away, head down, oblivious. Short of tackling him and tying him up, the only thing to do was put him on our rope, and that's what we did. As we hiked towards Denali Pass I had a sick feeling everything was going wrong.

The weather was marginal when we left and would worsen steadily throughout the day. The climb from 17,300 feet to the summit is not especially steep, but it is slow. The air is so thin it takes two or three breaths to get a step.

Seven hours after we left camp we were ready for the final push. We staked our packs together in order to go as light as possible. Dad and Peg said they felt good. Bob was pale and very quiet, showing incredible determination. I was nervous. My body was

pumped so full of adrenaline, I felt I could run up the mountain. I was worried that Bob might collapse or that the wind would really kick up, obliterating our trail of wands.

The summit block of McKinley is made up of a triangle of "horns" over 20,000 feet and the summit sits in the center, 20,320 feet high. We reached Kahiltna Horn at 5:30, stepping onto the summit ridge and into the wind.

We passed a descending team of four. We were alone on top of the mountain now, the highest people in North America.

One hour later we summitted. The wind was blowing 30-40 miles an hour. There was no view. We shook hands, took some pictures, and headed down.

I wanted very much to get us back to the Horn and out of the worst of the wind. Peggy yelled for me to slow down, that Dad was having trouble. I tried to, but with the Horn barely in sight, I must have begun to hurry. Suddenly the line went tight.

I looked back and saw Peggy lying flat, ice axe and crampons dug into the snow. Behind her Bob was in the same "arrest" position. I couldn't see Dad. I walked back along the ridge, telling Peggy and Bob to stay right where they were. Bob said, "I've got him," but I couldn't see Dad, only the rope going over the edge of the ridge and down. It was the scariest moment of my life.

"Papa!"

"Yeah!"

"You O.K.?"

"I think so. I lost my glasses."

Who cares about them I thought. "Can You walk?"

"Yes."

"Stay put." It was too steep and snowy for him to climb back up. "Untie from the rope. I can just see the Horn. The trail switches back and runs below you. I'll have Peggy and Bob put me on delay, then I'll come out with an end of the rope." Which is what we did.

We were back in camp three hours later. Peggy and I made hot water for soup. We ate, then crashed.

The descent was short and strenuous. It seems we'd cached gear every mile or so—there was a lot of digging and adding weight to our packs. There was also a lot of tension between the three of us and Bob, despite his excellent arrest of my Dad's fall.

We flew off the mountain two days after summitting. The drive back to Anchorage did feel great. We'd done it . We'd made it to the top.

We all had dinner in Anchorage that night. Bob's wife joined us, eight months pregnant. We were cordial. We never said a word about the conflicts of the trip. Since then Bob and his family have left the state so Bob could go to graduate school. We've not fully resolved our differences.